



**HILLARY MEETS THE  
TOUGHEST  
JOB IN THE WORLD**  
P.22



**The real  
problem  
with  
Slumdog  
Millionaire**  
P.54



**OUR 4TH ANNUAL  
STUDENT ISSUE**  
**University students  
grade their schools** P.31



# MACLEAN'S

FEB.  
16th  
2009

**EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW P.13**

## Inside Ignatieff's head

I'll pull  
the plug  
on Harper  
when...

It's my  
country.  
I can bitch  
about it.

Torture bad.  
Rigorous  
interrogation  
okay.

Politics is  
theatre. It's  
showtime!

No coalitions  
with the Bloc.  
Period.

The West:  
very angry,  
few Liberals.

Be careful  
with the  
Machiavelli  
quotes.

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**WHO MADE  
MONEY  
IN THE CRASH?**  
P.28

# Everything lined up in your favour?



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Want to feel in control with your car insurance? Look for the professional standard, an insurance professional with the CIP designation.



THIS WEEK

### Interview

#### 10 | COVER STORY ALL ABOUT IGGY

Kenneth Whyte talks to Universal Lender Michael Ignatieff about his fondest memories, past mistakes, future plans, and how you can go home again.

### Interviews

#### 6 | NO, CANADA?

Anthony Agony in New Brunswick, Jodi Lavoie's Toronto four pass, Michael Phelps takes a hit for a bong.

### Columns

#### 10 | ANDREW COYNE

That the Conservatives sold their soul shouldn't be surprising, they've been doing it for years.

#### 11 | PAUL WELLS

The new rule on Parliament Hill is that there are no rules.

#### 12 | BARBARA AMEL

The list of economic villains grows longer every day but will all this anti-market hysteria solve anything?

### Features

#### 16 | BUILDING A LEADER

Michael Ignatieff has a taste of upstart and old pros. The message? Stay calm.

#### 20 | KILLER HOUSES

Dandy radon gas could be lurking in your basement.

#### 21 | CAPITAL DIARY

Michael Raphael on how Harper nailed it: the No-nukes, gains for Quebec and Cuba, and the brief on Iggy.

### World

#### 22 | HILLARY'S HILL

Hillary Clinton may shape a new American diplomacy and a volatile political climate around the globe.

#### 26 | THE LIVES OF OTHERS

The German rivalry company is caught spying on its employees, dissent is on the rise in China.

# MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 122 NUMBER 8, FEBRUARY 16, 2009 • \$6.95 (GST INCL.)

2 From the Editors 5 Mail Bag 7 News Days

FEBRUARY 16-23, 2009



P.58

There are some lawsuits that are harder to get with than others.

### THE BACK PAGES

#### 84 | Film

We should be surprised that *Slumdog Millionaire* triggered "the best good film of the year," is riddled with ancient clichés.

#### 87 | Help

What happens when you're addicted to advice for those addicted to everything else?

#### 88 | Remedy

If nothing else, it's time to run the Botocoll.

#### 96 | Books

Embracing middle age by "power aging."

#### 80 | Stage

West Side Story thrugs it up in a new Broadway remount.

#### 81 | Focus

A young German novelist redefines provocation.

#### 63 | Feedback

A single mother of 14 children has some advice for you.

#### 54 | The Read

James' Jan' Roland Galleger, 1969-2009.

on the cover: Michael Ignatieff is a man of many seasons

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WWW.MACLEANS.CA

### Reviews

36 | SLOW AND EASY  
Why is Vito Meda laughing?  
Because he knows why  
low-risk investments are  
sometimes the best bet.

#### 36 | STEVE MAJOR

No matter what you think of  
unions, they are neither the  
cause of nor the solution to  
the current crisis.

#### 30 | ROYAL PUNCH

RBC is now one of the  
world's biggest banks,  
teaching economic literacy,  
payday loans are booming.

### University Report

#### 31 | GRADING OUR SCHOOLS

Results from two surveys  
asking students to grade  
their universities show Can-  
ada's schools are lagging.

#### 42 | GETTING A HEAD START

More Canadian high schools  
are offering university  
courses to help students get  
a jump on their degree.

#### 44 | TEN COMMANDMENTS

What every student should  
know before they step onto  
campus in first year.

#### 46 | TOP TEACHERS

A close look at some of  
the top teachers  
who make up the 2008 IM  
National Teaching Fellowship.

### Health

#### 48 | DIFFERENT STIMULUS

Magnetic fields are a new  
tool in treating the brain to  
fight depression and other  
mental illnesses.

### Environment

#### 50 | FISHY FARMS

Salmon farming in B.C. is  
creating havoc on the  
sustainability of the wild  
salmon population.

### Home

#### 51 | FRUGAL GOURMET

Looking to trim your budget?  
With the right recipes and  
some good advice, you can  
eat well on \$50 a week.

### Society

#### 55 | ATWOOD SEES ALL

Sold to the highest bidder:  
novelist Margaret Atwood's  
predictions for the future.

COVER PHOTO: MICHAEL IGNATIEFF BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR MACLEAN'S; PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR MACLEAN'S



## A silver lining?

Some Canadians are taking advantage of this period of upheaval to make changes in their lives for the better. Are you one of them? Have you gone back to school to get ahead? Have you left a job you hated for a volunteering position you love? Has scaling back to a simpler life made you happier? Tell us your story. [macleans.ca/middleclass](http://macleans.ca/middleclass)



8.00 CENTRAL

WEB POLL RESULTS



**PAUL WELLS**  
February 13, Thursday  
Jack Layton is hoping President Obama will join him in a coalition, but if he doesn't, he will be very angry.  
[macleans.ca/paulwells](http://macleans.ca/paulwells)



**SCOTT FESCHUK**  
"Could there be a worse line item on a company's earnings marketing dollars? We can afford a Super Bowl ad but let's cut a piece of that Pro Bowl deal. That's going to be watched by tens of millions of people."  
[macleans.ca/scottfeschuk](http://macleans.ca/scottfeschuk)



**AARON WHERRY**  
"No doubt, if Mr. Ignatieff continues to insist on conducting himself like a reasonable adult, he will find few in this place are easily scared into picking along."  
[macleans.ca/aaronwherry](http://macleans.ca/aaronwherry)

### Need to know

Every day, our staff searches the Web and discovers you the most important stories on the Internet. So you won't miss a thing in the world and discover this page. [macleans.ca/needtoknow](http://macleans.ca/needtoknow)



### Week in pictures

Check out the best photos taken in the last seven days from across the world. [macleans.ca/weekinpictures](http://macleans.ca/weekinpictures)

Should Michael Ignatieff have come down harder on the Conservative budget?



THIS WEEK'S POLL: [macleans.ca/poll](http://macleans.ca/poll)

### JOIN THE DISCUSSION

Comments are open on every story and post. So tell our writers what you think.

### PHOTO GALLERY



on the contents page ("Don't eat! Canadian if you want the best food in Asia restaurant") is misleading.  
**R.C. George Wang, Vancouver**

**YOUR AROUND** on foreign Asian restaurants was well-deserved. Your review, a know-it-all New York lawyer who seems to have written a collection of worn acronyms in the guts of restaurant guide, tells us about food that when not mixed with over-estimated, aggressive Chinese, even in the heart of Vancouver, Microsoft might be forgiven for its acronyms in the great review exercise if its editors could not stand up to one of its many of Chinese universities and a few blocks from its own university. Perhaps Asian Canadian wouldn't be so intransigent to your writer if the worst outside and actually talked to a few. **Sewang Luk, Toronto**

## LAW SCHOOL STUDIES

HAVING A JUSTICE system that is accessible to the average person is a serious problem ("When lawyers are only for the rich," Justice, Jan. 20). However, is there any correlation between the significant increase in legal fees and the increase in law school tuition fees? At a minimum, a law school requires classrooms, faculty, and a good library—making the cost far more than the average cost program. But the tuition fees



ALAN OWING suffers from their typing.

changed are comparable to medical and dentistry programs that have significant laboratory and clinical costs. By the time I graduate from law school, I will have spent over \$125,000 on my education—and that is at one of the least expensive law schools in the country! It will take years for my income to match that of the unemployed unemployed auto sector employee that the government has elected to support. Please do not begrudge me the raise I charge for my professional service. **Justin Wu, Vancouver**

## HAIL THE GIMLI GLIDER

IN YOUR INTERVIEW with aviation safety expert Robert H. Dennis (Interview, Feb. 2), it was great to see him mention on the Gimli Glider, which he says "involved absolutely splendid piloting skills over a lot of people." In that event, Capt. Pearson's plane ran out of fuel because of a malfunctioning misoperated by the conversion to the metric system; he was detained for six months and his first officer was suspended for two weeks despite the fact that many other factors were in blame. Pearson's success was due to the fact that he was an accomplished glider pilot and his first effort had previously been stationed at Gimli. Last summer, 35 years later, both were honoured as heroes in Gimli. In Canada it just takes a while. **Brian Curtis, Winnipeg**

## MADOFF IS NO NEWS

THEY DON'T KNOW, and I read Barbara Arnold's column "Under the Madoff mushroom" in Pulse Beach (Opinion, Jan. 20), that the wonderful Bernard Madoff was Jewish. Incidentally, Arnold perpetuates stereotypes about Jewish characteristics. She even seems to turn an aside that should surely explain how Madoff victimized many people—Jews and others—into one in which Jews are thrust aside or victimized, "just when the Jewish people are at their most beleaguered past since the 1930s." This is plain silliness, unless all those discriminatory practices against Jews in postwar Europe are just anti-semitic, anti-Jewish.

**Cherik K. Kane, Salisbury, Ont.**

**THIRD TIME'S A LOT**

JUST RECENTLY your writer once again whined about the fact that it should be said that there is the Jan. 19 issue—should be your Justice Trudeau column.

## FINALLY, A FAN

FORGOTTEN, CANNOT get enough coverage of Justin Trudeau ("Astronaut's shot," National, Jan. 18). I have fervent hope that he will be among the stateside leaders of the future that this country so sorely needs. His pedigree suggests that he might be. Until then, I just like to look at him and read about him. If you are, second, attempting to promote a Trudeau dynasty, please keep it up. **Steven Brackner, Barrie, Ont.**

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The movie *Polytechnique* will be released only in Quebec in February. Incomplete information appeared in a recent edition.

## IN PASSING

**Midland Falls, N.Y.** arrived. In 1996 he founded an organization in Georgia to build houses for the poor, named Habitat for Humanity. The organization grew into an important international charity, attracting physical and financial help from celebrities. Fulfiller left the charity in a conciliatory 2006 split and formed a similar organization bearing his name.

**Ingersoll, Ontario, 76**, boxer Hickox back from a humiliating disqualification at the 1972 Olympics for "not trying hard enough," according to judges, to appear in New York City in 1999, where he asked that sport by making an undisciplined Floyd Patterson. In the third round he beat Patterson to the last three doses.



## Good news

### Justice unveiled

A Toronto judge has ruled that a Muslim woman must remove her niqab—an Islamic veil that covers everything but the eyes—before the tenacious agent's case against her. The anonymous woman is speaking the demands, and rightfully so. Canada's justice system is built on a fundamental principle that an alleged criminal has the right to confront his accuser in open court, face to face. To deny the right of an alleged rapist to see a victim's face is to deny his right to religious freedom. That is a complex, politically charged question, and it deserves to be answered by our highest courts.

### Justice denied

Vancouver lawyer Peter Ritchie is no stranger to controversy, having handled the flawless case of defunding serial killer Robert Pickton. But last week, he stirred the pot on behalf of some much more sympathetic clients: the daughters of a man who died when the R.C. Forces ship *Queen of the North* sank after crashing into an island. In asserting that human indifference of the police system, Ritchie said he was forced to settle the negligence lawsuit because taking a civil case to a jury in B.C. costs \$400,000 in court fees—compared to \$1,000 in Ontario or Alberta. The province, he said, can't sweep past rights on its own responsibility that said "Ordinary People's Responsibility." Justice is truth, and sometimes it hurts.

### Uyghur room

Thankfully, the whistleblowers finally naming to bring innocent Uyghur prisoners to Canada. Seven Chinese Uyghurs have been locked away in Guantanamo Bay for years, even though nobody

## A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD

Never a dull moment with the Iranian president. As U.S. President Barack Obama continued his great overtures to Iran, Ahmadinejad on Monday welcomed the exiled leader of Hamas, Khaled Masha'al, to Tehran and called for a worldwide boycott of Israeli goods. On Tuesday he celebrated the 14th anniversary of the Islamic revolution, with the annual ceremony that Iran had launched a satellite into space, an act other countries fear is a prelude to ballistic missile capability.

## Bad news

### Overprotective

Canadian law America's new President. And why not? His opponents hope and change when it's needed most. But the trade dispute is putting his messages to the test. The provocative "Buy American" cause that's being threatened in the U.S. status package, at the urging of the steel industry, risks sparking an all-out trade war. Not only does America's not good law enough to meet domestic demand, but the classic world push up.

believes an even bigger international passage is the solution. The Labor Party leader is preparing a 48-hour travel to kick the West Bank and Gaza, effectively ending the peace talks. The idea is no substitute for peace, as if Barack's estimated \$2-billion to \$3-billion cost seems equally high. It's half the price of Toronto's salmonella railway extension.

### Salmonella silence

Peas and beef faced with salmonella has killed six people in the U.S. and prompted a massive recall in Canada, but the guilty company—Hormel Corporation of America—is refusing to talk. It clearly didn't learn anything from Michael McCain, CEO of Maple Leaf Foods, whose company and revenue during the last outbreak was unimpaired. If Hormel had sealed its case against salmonella victims, and a new survey says shoppers that the brand now more than ever.

### Heel, boys, heel

It is just us, or is the notion of flying shots as political strategy means getting old? In the past week, a giant shoe stance was revealed in Tokyo, Japan, to blow out the guy who cracked Iran's oil embargo. George W. Bush's policy is supposed to be to end it (more). On Monday, it was Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's turn to have his heels stepped on by a protester. In a show during a speech at Chinese University, The shoe was neither as new as original. If you think this is funny, recall for a moment that it was the hapless shoe-bearer who has all deferring our footwear at airport security. How long before we're going to have to do public appearances by world leaders? ■

## FACE OF THE WEEK



**DOWN UNDER (BUT ON TOP):** With a win at the Australian Open, tennis star Serena Williams propels to No. 1 in the world rankings.

heart our citizens' prospects, a wealth transferring the country with which we share the most bonds in trade and in value.

### Strokes and totes

A new study out of the University of South Carolina says that among the healthiest exercise for cars. In fact, the researchers found that regular laps around the pool can reduce the risk of premature death by up to 50 per cent compared to managing or walking. A separate report, published in a British tabloid, found that swimmers are also more likely to seek out bangs.

and prices and the costs of much-needed infrastructure projects. And all this comes at a time when trade tensions are already high (Obama has done little to ease tensions, European anger over new duties on foods, such as French Roquefort cheese). In such fiscal conservatism, the new U.S. President needs to lead the world, not down it.

### Two spade solution

Israel's attacks on Gaza were, in part, an effort to destroy tunnels. However, it is unwise to go into the tunnel of terror. But now, Defense Minister Ehud Barak

## MACLEAN'S BEST SELLERS

CLIPPING FOR JANUARY 19, 2009

### Fiction

- 1 **THROUGH BLACK SPRUCE** by Jostyn Boylen 1.000
- 2 **THE GUNNERY LITERARY AND PICTORIAL PRESS SOCIETY** by Mary Ann Griffin and Alvin Brown 1.000
- 3 **THE ASSOCIATE** by John Gattuso 1.000
- 4 **THE GIRL WITH THE DRAGON** by Jostyn Boylen 1.000
- 5 **THE HOUSE I FIRST BELIEVED** by Willy Little 1.000
- 6 **2008** by Roberto Bolaño 1.000
- 7 **COVERTURE** by Helen Humphreys 1.000
- 8 **A MERCY** by Tim Hynes 1.000
- 9 **THE ORIGIN OF SPEECH** by David Wood 1.000
- 10 **BLONDE ROGUE** by Ben Sachs 1.000

### Non-fiction

- 1 **OUTLIER** by Malcolm Gladwell 1.000
- 2 **THE ASCENT OF NOBODY** by Bill Ferguson 1.000
- 3 **A PAIR COUNTRY** by John Gattuso 1.000
- 4 **THINGS I'VE BEEN SILENT ABOUT** by John Gattuso 1.000
- 5 **THE GREAT DEPRESSION ANNUAL** by Harry S. Davis 1.000
- 6 **CHAMPIONS' DREAM** by David H. Fischer 1.000
- 7 **THE OFFSHORE** by Lawrence Foster 1.000
- 8 **THE BOON** by Peter Mink and Lorne George 1.000
- 9 **DEWEY** by David H. Fischer 1.000
- 10 **IN SPITE OF MYSELF** by Christopher Plummer 1.000

LAST WEEK (ENDING ON FEB. 1)

## OBAMA AND LIMBAUGH FACE OFF, AVRIL CREATES A FASHION DISASTER, DELL GETS SLAPPED DOWN

## NEWSMAKERS

### Hamster whisperer

When one of Simon Cowell's kid-  
low-judges on Britain's Got Talent  
composed a contrast to a har-  
monizer on a wheel, the famous ju-  
dges balked. The consensus  
was nothing like a harp, Cowell  
said, and he should know. When  
he was a boy, he was obsessed  
with harps. He had 18 of them  
as pets, and taught them to do  
tricks. "I loved watching them  
run on their wheel," he said. "One  
could even swim under water."



### Putin the

**screws to Michael Dell**  
Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin does not want or need any charity from Michael Dell, the founder of Dell Computers. Last week, the Russian leader delivered



In case of  
emergency,  
dialing

WELL, Last Friday, the mayor, police chief and fire chief of Fort Wayne, Ind., gathered to honour Alex Hayes, age four, for his quick thinking and bravery. Last

significantly. Hayes had the chance to pick up a telephone and call 911 after his mother fell down the stairs and was knocked unconscious. As luck would have it, his mother had taught him a song to memorize their address when the family moved into the home only nine days earlier. Birmingham dispatcher Manda Overly said reporters, "With the friendliness and the shyness in his voice, it was hard to not get the address at first, but he was very sweet and repeated it over and over." Help soon arrived and all ended well. Later this year Hayes will have his first day of kindergarten.

### The other Prince of Wales

The Anglesey Tourism Board is delighted that Prince William, 26, will be stationed at the Royal Air Force base on the Welsh island of Anglesey for his training as

fishermen catch and release. Already, tourists have begun running around, exploring the island's beaches and historical sites. "I hope we will have fans of the prince flocking to see him show his skills as a pilot," a board representative said.

### April's Waters Note

April/Lovings: 24, it already gets good reviews for her new skate-punk fashion line, Abbey Down—to named for her childhood nickname. Abbey Down, a “surfer lifestyle brand” available online and at Kohl’s stores in the U.S., is an extension of

fishnet, skulls, neon pink, and animal print. Lavigne was spotted last week on the streets of Los Angeles, donning pants from her collection for a campaign photo shoot. *Gossip* blogger Perez Hilton, always a harsh critic of Lavigne's favorite "silly girl," compared her to someone who had "rolled around in the clearance section of a Hot Topic."

## 'Change' keeps on changing things

On Friday, the Republican party elected its first African American national chairman. In new Maryland Lt. Gov. Michael Steele, who won the elusive married "first" of a new party ("Steele lost out Mike Deane," George Bush's personally selected GOP chair), who abandoned his re-election campaign on Friday, saying, "obviously the winds of change are blowing." Those winds appear to be blowing in Iceland, too. Last week, Johannes Sigurdsson, the prime minister, became the world's first openly gay leader. Interestingly, such has been made of this milestone. In Iceland, however, government officials point out that the country has far more pressing concerns—eradicating debt and rampant unemployment.



### Root-headed move

Olympic swimmer Michael Phelps, the U.S. Olympic Games' most decorated athlete, was named one of the year's nastiest apologies and young ignorance when a photograph surfaced upon the News of the World showing him fondling a woman from behind. The photo, which he admitted was authentic, was taken at a party in November at the University of South Carolina. "I'm 23 years old and I don't like the suggestion



MICHAEL



**Fourteen  
is enough**

Angela Sales  
the mother of  
Los Angeles

completing last week, is not likely to have a single daughter. With 14 children, all conceived vitro. These won't be any nephews, she assured reporters. "We doesn't have any more non embryos, so it's over. It has to be."

**Saving up  
for the on  
they want**

Thanks to the  
small party's dis-  
showing in the  
federal election  
several budget  
have cut by 20  
cent from ab-



## Another Hugh Job

Republican r  
pundit Rush  
haugh's pro-  
motion came  
about: warning  
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may have been  
poor taste (n  
heaven party  
not sorry for w  
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we were gather  
House to discus  
12-village win  
You can't just b

A party spokesperson, **Jim Fule**, brother, said that budget cuts are not the reason for the hold up. Rather, the party is taking its time to find the right person for the job.

## Banking on happy returns in 2009

Public sector employees are not the only ones feeling the economic pinch. Scottishair CEO Rick Waugh and Royal Bank of Canada CEO Gordon Nixon both note major financial loss.

to Rush Limbaugh and get this done" he says, Limbaugh fans the flames, telling his listeners "I would be honoured if the drive-by media handed me one day long - 'Limbaugh: I hope Obama fails' Somebody's got to do it."



UFD official, varnished

On Monday, an American official, John Solecki, was kidnapped in a "distasteful terrorist attack" in southwestern Pakistan. Solecki, the head of the UN refugee office in the city of Quetta near the Afghanistan border, was on his way to work when gunmen shot and killed his driver. Police are still unclear whether the kidnappers are Taliban militants or criminals looking for payday. Solecki works to help Afghan refugees who are fleeing violence in their country.

### Federer slammed

Sprachmeister Rafael Nadal, an Australian Open winner, was a dramatic true for him, but a disaster for his Swiss opponent Roger Federer, 27, who had been hoping to tie Pete Sampras's record of 14 Grand Slam victories. "Tennis was a tough moment for Roger," said Nadal, 22. "I know how tough it must be for us in an important situation like this." Indeed, Federer was losing the loss. "I love this game," he said. "It means the world to me, so it hurts when you lose."

## A lot of nerve

On his way to the Chinese Embassy in Leicester, Wei Jiahao, China's Prime Minister, Wei Jiahao, was confronted by a crowd of protesters chanting pro-Tibetan slogans and holding "Warriors" posters featuring the prime minister's face. Five protesters were arrested after they hopped the police barricade in a failed attempt to get closer. A comment away, Wei's agent posted remarks on the Daily News, was admitted to a hospital in New Delhi after suffering "discomfort in his ears. Doctors diagnosed the Tibetan spiritual leader as having suffered from a stroke."



# Harper's Tories lost the plot a long, long time ago



ANDREW COYNE

Why is everyone so surprised? The budget the Conservatives produced last week may have been starting to look like the biggest spending budget ever, fuelled by the largest one-year increase in spending ever made of wartime—but it was hardly out of character. It was the logical terminus to a decade of clientelism, rent-seeking, and broken promises, dating back to the first effort to merge the old Reform and Progress Conservative parties. What began in fear and desperation has ended in confusion and incompetence. Predictably enough.

So let us have none of these attempted little myths on how folks that must have been led by Stephen Harper, how the Reformers who had earned politics so lighted did him had come to embrace them. Once, this would have been hard for him, but by now it is second nature. And again, in place, the crisis of betrayal from stalwarts of the right, who never imagined that a Conservative party could produce a budget like this. Where were these people the last 10 years? I'll tell you where they were: right by the party's side, saying it on. There is no betrayal here. They were all in this together. In all the drastic backpedalling of the last decade, as each long-held policy was overturned and each coalition of a lifetime was abandoned, the party never made a leap.

Everyone—democratic minister to the low-level episode staffer—laughed in. It's everyone right on. They were "showing discipline." They were "moderate and middle of the road." They had gone up, they understood that politics is the art of the possible, they were all incrementalists now. Above all, they were loyal to the leader, and to the leader's shakedown of a majority government. And so whatever doubts they harboured, what ever principles they possessed, they were placed in a blind trust for the duration.



PATRICK GLEMIEAU

## They've given up everything they ever stood for, and what have they got in return? Nada.

In retrospect, indeed, the appointment of David Emerson and Michael Fortin that first day in office, which seemed so shocking at the time, was just the start of the process. It was already well advanced. Thank back to the late 1990s, and what the Reform party then stood for: No net new federal budgets, but had sound budget laws. Reformers also—on tax promises, on constitutional amendments, on citizens' initiatives. Tight controls on spending. A flat tax. Abolition of corporate subsidies, and their "regional development" dispensations. Reform for employment of ministers, the Canada Pension Plan, of the CBC. A federalism of equal provinces and citizens. An elected Senate. Free votes in Parliament. More power for ordinary MPs. Open nomination races at the riding level, free of interference by the leader's office. Free election dates

by the new Stockwell Day was a courageous prime minister in 2000—the Canadian Alliance having replaced the Reform party, and Day having replaced Preston Manning—a third or more of them were already gone. But the past only quickened from there. By the time of the 2004 election, the newly formed Conservative party was all vaguely interested in abolishing corporate subsidies, and sufficient interest in the end that mostly it was interested in telling you to what would be. It wouldn't be spending, for instance, or much else that might upset someone, anywhere.

The party's founding policy convention in 2005 took things still further: gone was any mention of reform, for example. Spending cuts were out, subsidies were in. The courting of Quebec nationalists, which Harper had once warned against, had begun in earnest. Probably the delegates thought they were making a prudent set of concessions to reality, in a bid to establish themselves, once and for all, as a centrist party, ready to form a government. But in fact they were only shuffling things up for the next round. The accession to power, after so many years, did not mark the end of the party's convulsions. It merely provided it with the means to make real more, such as one prepping them to the last: on Quebec, on Afghanistan, on coalition votes, on foreign relations, on local election dates, on appointing ministers, on corporate handouts, until at last we arrived at last week's establishment of a regional development agency for northern Ontario.

So they're given up everything they ever stood for, and what have they got in return? Pretty close to nada. They're still in the pit, again. The failed majority returns finally out of reach. These disposed to run

trust them are as suspicious as ever, while their own believes are now thoroughly doctored. They have not moved to the centre, they have only succeeded in shifting the centre, political spectrum to the left. The Quebec experiment, likewise, is in tatters, Quebec more nationalist than ever. The destruction is total. The future is bleak.

Once, long ago, there was an answer: a new party. But you can only do that once: one can't get the energy to do that half again. The hand that dares to change is no longer anything resembling a conservative party in this country, nor any prospect of financing one. And conservatives are only themselves to blame. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at [www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne](http://www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne)

# Is Miles Davis really running Ottawa?



PAUL WELLS

So much has changed.

The government of Canada stands for nothing. The Liberals have therefore agreed to support it. The new Liberal leader, Michael Ignatieff, has issued orders warning of the government's stance standing for something, the Liberals will do it. It is less. This has been Ignatieff's plan for his tenure, and it is the same since 1993 in different form. Stephen Harper's difference can be measured with certain sophisticated instruments.

Obama used to say the government was evil and he would vote against it. But he kept finding magical ways to vote against the government without allowing it down. Ignatieff is important with the government. Disappointed in it. He narrows his focus and it is like watching two big huddles for war. He will vote with the government for now. But one step out of Stephen Harper and it's brought to your mind without any doubt, voting rain.

The other Harper was able to implement his 2007 budget without difficulty. In 2008 budget, this one passed without difficulty. But his 2009 budget? Ah! Well, he'll be able to implement that one without difficulty too. But Ignatieff will make him feel bad about it. This is the difference leadership makes.

It is true that the new budget is a rather disappointing loss of money around randomly without any semblance of a plan for the future. You say that life is a bad thing. In fact, it's not the combined efforts of the three opposition parties, known as the Coalition, to produce this result. Two of the Coalition partners, the Bloc Québécois and the NDP, are therefore voting against the budget. But not voting for the Coalition budget, Ignatieff first had to abandon the Coalition. When foreign diplomats stationed in Ottawa are down to zero reports about Canadian pol-

itics for their political masters back home, they first ask back and forth for a few notes, weeping silently.

The premier of Newfoundland and Labrador is upset about the budget. The prime minister of Quebec is upset about the budget. "The government are not the same," Ignatieff told reporters about the new coalition, and the same. Ignatieff is treating them differently. His Newfoundland MPs can vote against the budget but not his Quebec MPs. Nobody likes it when Ignatieff becomes a strongman.

Every now and then, Davis's MP would threaten to vote against his caucus, but they never did. This was his reputation as a weak leader. Ignatieff is letting his MPs



## We face the future without a plan, with laws that mean nothing. It's kind of like jazz.

vote against him, as with the Coalition, i.e., against the budget. This is wrong: here a reputation as a weak and feeble leader. The situation is not the same.

The capital is in a tizzy because Barack Obama is coming to visit. The new U.S. President doesn't get congressional Republicans to support his economic stimulus. (This is because the congressional Republicans aren't led by Ignatieff, although for a while there anything was possible.) Obama can't get the congressional Democrats to drop their protectionism. His cabinet appointees keep running into problems with the union. Of all the world leaders who are greeted by their own people, snatched by their opponents and unable to build a cabinet, Obama is surely the most powerful.

We cannot yet confirm whether Obama will have a private audience with Ian Davis when he arrives in Ottawa. Brodie, you'll recall, was keeper of the staff last year. He

got in some trouble when he assumed reporters that Obama's protectionist rhetoric on the primary campaign had been outrageous. People were upset because Brodie's remarks seemed to be politically motivated. They should have been upset because his remarks were wrong.

Eventually Brodie left the government. There was not a room at the top for a guy whose predictions were so widely off. He was, at least not if Jim Flaherty was going to be sticking around. Brodie eventually landed up at Hill and Knowlton, in a much more senior than he used to be. He was a university professor. Among Brodie's qualifications for the Hill is knowing how he helped pass the Accountability Act, which promised to end the days when public staffers could land cushy jobs because of their influence and access. There is suddenly a room of lawyers hanging over your shoulder, so I need to emphasize here that nothing Brodie did destroyed the Accountability Act in any way. This tells us a few things about the Accountability Act. For instance, it tells us why any other reason for the Accountability Act ("The Freedom of Access Act")

So much has been said. Election dates have been fixed, no elections now up for grabs, no election system in place, no election system in place, no election system in place.

has been fixed. Twice. Health care wait times are now guaranteed. If you want health care, I can guarantee you will wait. We have fixed the Senate. It looks just as good as it looks. It is as good as ever. Canada's role in Afghanistan? Free. Our deployment will end and we don't. They can go. Flaherty declined the role of federal-provincial relations was once, and his word has proved to be just as reliable as it ever was.

So now we face the future, secure in the knowledge that nobody has a plan and you can't lose as much as in their face value. It's kind of refreshing. Life just. Because that's what you want: running the country when it's plummeting into economic war. It's a struggle through in its old-fashioned shoeing war. Name: Roman. I just heard. I hear the Prime Minister is a good friend. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at [www.macleans.ca/paulwells](http://www.macleans.ca/paulwells)

# Off with the hedge fund manager's head!



BARBARA AMIEL

Accused members of the intelligentsia in Mao's China were marched through the streets wearing cone hats on which were written revolutionary slogans. "Down with the feudal intellectual," placards identified the wearer as a stinking counter-revolutionary. This was also the spirit of the times, named up here for me by a People's Post Art poster captioned "Whoever is anti Chairman Mao will get his dog head broken." Success and so the post.

Those 1960s and '70s marches, complete with songs in which feudal intellectuals would kneel and salute to the mob, are not as different from the modern American pop songs. Those days it's the party had no leaders and the media class that are the Red Guard, and Wall Streeters the second. Every night, some TV station plays photos of the day's addressees to the Top 10 Business Villains and another hedge manager is added to the list of CIOs. Most have not been charged with anything—yet—their frozen stench for "scholarship" are tangled out as forces behind today's economic crisis. We are living through a collective mad race, all part of the mob, finger pointing, judging, some driven by fear of economic chaos, others enjoying the self-delusory excess. Old labels are disappearing. After listening to a media discussion about "economic crisis," I wondered when we would start firing "bourgeois counter-revolutionaries." The Soviets and the Chinese preferred the first term, the Americans the second, though in the Soviet case the two were often interchangeable.

I suspect current economic criminals resemble past ones in that they came in two varieties: the ones who truly caused economic crises and the ones who are elevated by political fashion to the status of criminals. Stalin's taste made economic criminals of the entire kulak class, kulaks

In today's America would include CEOs and Tom Wolfe's Masters of the Universe. Certain titles such as "hedge fund manager" have become terms of disapproval that trip off the tongues of people, as how half of whom I suspect have exactly no idea what a hedge fund is. The major is complicated by the bizarre behaviour of the mortgage mess of some companies. When the taxpayers are giving and loaning you billions, paying yourself massive bonuses to simply *Alone* in Wonderland on some to the gallows. Bigtime may actually believe they deserve the last for hard work in difficult times—no criminal intent—but their behaviour is so inappropriate that the very fact



## Pointy-head intellectuals and the media are the Red Guard, Wall Streeters the accused

it isn't a crime is ever more aggravating.

"The business of America is business" was they back in the '30s when the fabulously successful self-made entrepreneur was adored. People noted his shaming—conscience, self-worth, a lack of sympathy—hisself while men was the American hero. This was also to be understood into corporate man, the product of exploitation and overpaid capitalism. This version, denigrated by the media and Hollywood, the place where our business people originate: most business people in films like *Wall Street*, was a white vampire, discredited,

living in a smother world of screws and luxury while desiring the lifeblood of ordinary folk in phony paper ventures. In the '60s, the powerful intellectual class emerged fully in America and their preoccupations and main concern was the record of the times, largely because they were keepers of that record. The entrepreneurial and business-building America—making the record—had completely different tastes and values, also aware between record maker and record keeper were deep.

Sensing anxiety, businessmen tried buying off critics by endorsing notions they found politically expedient or politically correct. In so doing, they betrayed their businesses with expediency and contributed to a climate that only encouraged a political class to bear down on them with more vigilance. Looking at the breaches of some hedge masters you think you were reading the memoirs of an environmental activist. Under the heading of "Managing the Way We Do Business," HSBC announced it is developing the Climate Change Centre of Excellence and taking part in the Carbon Disclosure Project, that facilitates dialogue between shareholders and corporate men on carbon emissions. HSBC is a strong, well-managed bank. Still, given the 400 HSBC owned branches just closed in the US and elsewhere, I hope that the government will reverse unhelpful financial rules, HSBC's "dialogue" might more usefully have targeted political enemies.

Whatever the solution to hard times, hysterical denunciations cannot help. The nations are fast to please critics by blaming politicians put in government will fail to please by becoming businessmen. Driven by old fears and old wrong hates, we are moving to ruin, as I believe I wrote, that all wealth is suspect. It is not, and the economy is a psychodrama, not a market hysteria. It is a struggle to restore equilibrium. Some day of rethinking is at hand—a rethinking in reality.

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INTERVIEW



## 'I've worked day and night for the Liberal party for three years. The question implies I kind of arranged this transition.'

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF TALKS TO KENNETH WHYTE ABOUT HOW HE GOT TO BE LIBERAL LEADER, THE ECONOMY, TORTURE, AND MACHIAVELLI

Q

You had a long and successful career as an academic and a public intellectual, you've written many books, and you've won awards for them. Justly?

A: Being in the classroom, I come from a long line of teachers; my grandfather was a teacher, my grandfather was a teacher, my grandfather was a teacher—it goes on in the genes.

Q: What's good about teaching?

A: Well, some of it's being a hero, some of it's the show. Some of it's being put under pressure by extremely able, smart young people at Harvard, who put don't let you take the easy road, and you are testing your self against people from 35 countries, including lots of Canadians, who were terrific.

Q: You were out of Canada a long time. At some point, in the '90s, I think you were in Montreal, and you said that "you can't go home again," and you said another time that the only thing you missed about Canada was *Algonquin Park*. You seemed drawn from the country, passionately and consistently. So what changed?

A: I don't see my story that way at all. You know, I wrote, I made films about Canada. Blood and Belonging was essentially about that.

Q: You did refer to yourself in *Blood and Belonging* as an alien looking at Canada, an outsider.

A: Well, but a funny kind of alien who'd always been a Canadian. I didn't feel alien at all, I felt deeply involved in the country through my adult life, and I don't think I would have come back at all now, had I not felt this ongoing sense that this is the only place where you can be a participant in public life. I think people have to appreciate how frustrating it became and how lonesome it

became, in a curious way, to be always a spectator of other people's politics and other people's dramas. No matter how long I lived in Britain or the United States I'd never be a citizen there, I'd never be actively involved. And I also felt, as a Canadian, that I often didn't understand debates in Britain or the United States. We have a multicultural society in Canada based on the fact that we're all immigrants. The debates in England, I think, "Why are we doing what we're doing? Why don't they understand what we in Canada understand about multicultural societies?" They'd be moments in the United States when I'd feel, "Why are they bawling around all research? How is this great republic engaged in politics when this wouldn't get to the first base in Canada?"

Q: And there must be policies that have been formulated and advanced in Canada that you don't agree with.

A: Oh, sure. Sure, but they're mine. It's





my country I can back both sides because it's easy.

**Q: You've been back about three years. What surprised you most about Canada now that you're living here full time?**

**A:** It's certainly renewed my patriotism, and I've got a hawk coming out called *The Patriot*. Now, which is not socialist. I think the single biggest surprise is the sense of a great country underperforming. I'm a patriot, but an impatient patriot. We're heavily regionalized, the ties that bind us are weaker than I think they should be. You went to use the authority of the federal government, not to run everything down. Ottawa, but to get us a few national projects we can do together, whether it's energy corridors or building the transportation infrastructure, so we start to look that we are trying to build a country together.

**Q: The interest you note something like an energy corridor, especially when you're the leader of the Liberal party, well, you know how much energy flowing east-west rather than north-south will play in Alberta.**

The line thing in the world I would try and bring back is the National Energy Program. I've gone to Alberta and said, "We got the energy," but for heaven's sake, Albertans accidentally paralyze and paralyze Canadians, they want to contribute to a national energy. I'm not saying I saw the north-south flow of our energy arteries. I'm saying let's balance east-west and north-south in a way that allows us to use those exceptional energy resources for the benefit of all Canadians. And I don't think that's unusual, say it all, it's obvious. We've got an enormous capacity to enhance our east-west grids that would be for the benefit of all Canadians. That's the kind

of national project I think we should do. So this is essentially a national project, not necessarily an economic project.

**A:** I think you can't have a national project that doesn't make economic sense, right? What I hear in Quebec is not, "Leave us alone. Don't bother, you're irrelevant." What I'm hearing is, "Disenfranchise, what can we do together?" You hear that from Premier Charest. It's Premier Charest who says, "Well, you know, we've been talking about this damn Quebec City to Windsor train for 30 years, why don't we do it?" So there's an opportunity I don't want to minimize the difficulties. We're in a position, we've got difficulties, but we're also opportunistic to do some great things. I'm aware of the complexities. I'm aware that our federation is complex. You do this by consent, not by confrontation, and a genuine consensus can't be done. But a genuine consensus can lead, he can say, "There are two or three things that if we did, we'd end up being a stronger country." I think the Harper government has pursued a strategy of substance. "You don't like us, so we're going to do as little as we can until you get used to us" and that's one reason why their tenure has never been as troubled, because I think they fear that if the Canadians saw that they wouldn't like it so much. But it seems there's a weakness, in my view, where voice ought to be, and I think our party needs to admit that.

**Q: Why did you support the budget and ask for regular reports on progress rather than demand substantial amendments to it? Surely you don't consider Mr. Harper's budget to have been flawed.**

**A:** I said we have a flawed budget. We'll fight that in the government, we're the opposition. It's their responsibility to manage this economy, not ours, and that the appropriate role

for an opposition is to say, "Are you delivering on your promises, and if there are other things you're going to do it this means you're worse?" So we've put them on probation and said, "There is a probability of trust loss."

**Q: What is the probability of the opposition to say, "We're an alternative, let us try?"**  
**A:** We will be proposing alternative policy. *Q: I mean deflating the Conservatives and taking government.*

**A:** We had an election on the 14th of October. I had to make a decision whether it was in the national interest of the country to go into an election immediately. In my judgment it was not. I'm very aware that we are in unprecedented economic times. Right across the country everybody's like swimmers in a swimming pool trying to get their feet on the bottom, and no one knows where the bottom is. In these circumstances, adding political uncertainty was not a responsible choice. I also felt that a coalition was not a responsible choice.

**Q: Why did you support the coalition document then?**

**A:** I believed very strongly that a credible threat of coalition was the only thing that would get this government to wake up and grow a budget that was in the national interest. You compare where they have moved from the national interest of the 27th of November to the budget of the 27th of January, where now they're moving, which is that they feared that they would lose government. And we've now put them on probation because they can't deliver on the most basic things they don't deliver on the promises in the budget.

**Q: Can you point to a provision where the opposition declares a confidence vote on a matter like this and the government falls as a consequence? Usually, the government just loses**

## 'Everybody's like swimmers in a swimming pool trying to get their feet on the bottom and no one knows where the bottom is'

eff each vote and remains in power.

**A:** Well, I think we have set the table so that it would be extremely difficult for this government to continue in office if they don't continue to have our support. If we withdraw support they are back to where they were at the end of November, facing a House where they are short of the majority necessary to get their legislation. They can't blow this off.

**Q: The amendments ask the government to report on things like whether the budget and the stimulus package are being implemented. Are we assessing existing job losses, and creating the employment opportunities of tomorrow. These are very vague phrases.**

**A:** Not if you look at the failure to fund Genome Canada. Can you think of a better way to create the jobs of tomorrow than to fund Genome Canada?

**Q: So it's going to be up to you to define whether or not the government's performance will satisfy the very large and loud pressure that the amendment sets up?**

**A:** We would also like to get the parliamentary budget officer as we did—the he's an officer of the Liberal party, he's an independent officer—we'll want him to assess things like the deficit projections. They, again, might be already saying of the Harper budget that they are underestimating the revenue drop and overestimating the growth rate, which means that the story they're telling Canadians about the deficit is not true. Canadians need to know how deep the hole is that this government is digging. That's not vague at all, that's not dis-

And decisions like Genome Canada, the decision in respect of the Newfoundland case—informing a government on the 17th of January that you're going to change the formula by which that resource revenue either are paid or that's a devastating impact on one province. One of our critics in Ottawa to the regions. Already this government is in difficulty on that issue.

**Q: We can expect, then, to be going to the polls this spring if the government's doing this had already and you're determined to bring it down if it doesn't meet your standards.**

**A:** I don't engage in idle threats, and I'm not going to make a threat. I'm simply saying that I was deeply serious when I said there's some accountability measures, and we are going to take them seriously.

**Q: What does it take before you pull the plug on this government and say, "We go to the polls?"**

**A:** I'm not going to enter into hypotheses. What I'm going to say is there are serious accountability measures, and we will use them as we see fit. We're going to watch things, like is the money promised on infrastructure going out the door? You can count that stuff. Canadians in the core provinces really want the money to flow. Our job is to hold them to making it flow.

**Q: Why not be pragmatic and just down and firm and ask them to have no doubt that if the government doesn't measure up it's going to be thrown out?**

**A:** I think you will see that that accountability clause provides us with a grid which we can present to Canadians almost like a report card and say, "Here's how they've done, folks, here's the few questions they've done, look at good or bad," or "They have got the basic accountability criteria we've set down." My job in opposition is to make sure that the government of Canada keeps its promise to Canadians, and that's what I propose to do.

**Q: One of the criteria is that you have to assure that the deficit is not as large as the federal government. We're taking on the largest load of debt since the Second World War. How can that not be a burden to future generations?**

**A:** Well, it's not a burden if you keep the deficit under control and they plan to get out of it that has been a reasonable assumption. As I've said, I'm concerned that our assumptions are not reasonable. Now, we've gotta watch that very carefully because Canadians, for good reason—because the Chris-

tian-Martin governments dug us out of debt—have learned the enormous advantages of not being burdened with a serious deficit. And they want the truth, they don't want to be told a happy song as we walk into the bag, and say, "Give us the numbers. Just the facts, please, Mr. Flaherty. Just the facts, Mr. Harper."

**Q: You have deflated the coalition and the association of the Liberal party with the Bloc by saying that they're big economy elected performance-oriented, and while you might not like what they represent, you respect the fact that they represent a particular constituency in Quebec. Would you enter into a coalition or a similar agreement with the Bloc again?**

**A:** My sense is I'm strongly disposed against it, but I don't know what situation I'm going to face in the future. I thought it was legitimate to conclude an agreement because I said as the time—and have said since—I didn't believe it would compromise the national unity of my country, and that was the bottom line for me for every MP in my party. We've all learned a lesson about coalitions. One of the things I took away from the open case is it's a particularly strong feeling in the West. I'm in this century to unite Canada, not divide them, and I took the message from the West very seriously. There was a genuine feeling of anger on that issue, and we all have to learn from that.

**Q: But the coalition was a mistake? A:** No, I've said that I think the coalition was not a mistake because it was clear that if you entered with Parliament, Parliament would remain neutral and vote you and force you to take measures which this government should have taken in late November.

**Q: So a coalition with the Bloc again, if circumstances permit, is a possibility?**

**A:** I've made a very clear call I have deep difficulty with the very possibility. What I said is that in a future in which there is a possibility of minority governments, I would not conclude making arrangements or agreements, public, transparent agreements, with other parties that would allow us to govern. But notice I did not use the word "coalition."

**Q: I'm not clear what you're saying now. A:** I think it's very difficult for me to do so. With the Bloc. But let's be clear, they're not because I don't like the good faith of Mr. Desjardins or his capacity to carry out his word. My issue is that they have different strategic objectives.

**Q: And you won't rule it out completely.**  
**A:** I'm telling you I would not go into coalition agreements with the Bloc. Quebec, period. That rules it out. In a situation of minority governments, Canadians have to get used to the idea that it is responsible for political leaders to envisage the possibility of creating agreements or accords or political

arrangements to govern in order to secure stable government, but not with the Bloc.

**Q:** We've got a stable minority Parliament for the foreseeable future. Why not submit to a conventional leadership election process to legitimize your position as leader of the Liberal party?

**A:** Well, the concept exists for this job without them to come back?

**Q:** As they've withdrawn, and so we are where we are. I'm not going to tell them what to do. They've talked to my leadership in every positive and helpful way, and so we're working together every day.

**Q:** You haven't come up through the ranks of the party in the conventional way. You were parachuted into a safe riding without a previous election. Do you not think it would help to establish you as leader if you paid your dues and went through a process like that?

**A:** I think I've paid a fair bit of dues. I've worked day and night for the party for three years. The question arises if I had arranged this manner. It happened because Stephen Harper branched us into a constitutional crisis—not of my making—which required the leadership of our party to take some difficult and tough decisions, and for my trials to make very difficult decisions—which I strongly adhere to—and I've had a welcome review and reaffirmation of my leadership in May. I'm travelling the country currently visit in rooms with the rank and file to take their questions, to respond and react. This is a national-scale party and I can't be a good leader unless I'm listening to them at every step of the way, and at the same time rebuilding this party as a mass-based party. I know I've got a lot of work to do.

**Q:** Just were the government to fall and were you asked to form a government tomorrow, you would be coming into the office without having won a conventional leadership race, and effectively getting the leadership through a backdoor deal, without having even been elected to the position.

**A:** Sorry, what leadership deal are we talking about?

**Q:** It wasn't a conventional leadership conference.

**A:** It followed all the constitutional precedents for the party.

**Q:** I'm not arguing that. You don't see an absence of democratic legitimacy in it?

**A:** Well, as I say, we're going to have a convention in May, we're going to have a great convention, the rank and file are going to get a chance to reify my leadership. I have to prove my spine to that leadership every day in the caucus, and I sit there in front of my

people with my sleeves rolled up taking questions from anybody, and that's the way I'm going to lead. I'm aware that I have to win my spurs with my party, that I'm very aware of, and so we're working hard on that.

**Q:** You came and you New York Times piece that mentioned life and political life require different sorts of judgment. What did you mean by that?

**A:** I think in political life you can include possibilities or alternatives that are not political possibilities here and now. The thing I think that you appreciate in political leadership—and great leaders have it—is the kind of embracing sense of reality, and a sense of what's possible or not possible in any given situation. The other thing that politicians about people, so the judgments that you have to make as a political leader are not about ideas, they're about what this person might or might not do in this circumstance, you know? It's about that, and that's not necessarily a judgment about what the Canadian people want. I had to make a judgment about the cash-on-cash case, and I sat there and I just listened to a lot of Canadians for six weeks. I put my ear to the real of Canadian life and heard a lot of things I had never heard of before.

**Q:** You've quoted Mackenzie's argument about political judgment, that to be effective you have to follow principles more realistic than those acceptable in ordinary life, and that a politician needs to know how to do so. What did you mean by that?

**A:** I honestly don't know going to endorse Machiavelli in a family magazine?

**Q:** You retired the name.

**A:** I just mean that politicians have to make tough and difficult decisions. Whatever you do, someone is not going to be happy. There are very few political decisions that are win-win for everybody, and you have to live with that and accept that and be your own boss. What I would never endorse is decisions that involve illegality, that involve cruelty, fraud and deceit.

**Q:** You did say your political job is stressful, more so than intellectual life, and that sometimes you're required to pretend to have emotions that you don't actually feel, and to take positions that you don't necessarily believe in, and that it's all part of the job.

**A:** Of course it's stressful, it's draining, sometimes. Canadians have a great meter for politicians, and you're not going to succeed if you're phony. I mean, the thing I like about the job—and this is the theatrical side—you come into a room of people on a Friday night in St. John's, Newfoundland, or Halifax, or Vancouver, Surrey, and you know, they've got

**PHOTOGRAPH** with his wife, Zorana, campaigning in Toronto



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**Q:** I agree with your observations in the Times piece. I think anyone who writes about politics, who writes closely, knows that politicians engage in a lot of posturing. And you are a politician now and you're hoping our job in the White House or otherwise that we can get you going to be able to contribute to do that. Because people will read that piece and think, here it is, saying that we as citizens have to do wrong as politicians, sometimes have to

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prejudice to have emotions, take positions you don't believe in, and they will wonder if they are being misled or manipulated. Can you be so frank in your observations about politics and civil liberties politics?

A: Look, if I've believed like Mischakelli questioned, Canadians should throw me out of office.

Q: You'd be wondering, really, for starters. At least I don't think we're going to do that! They'd do more than throw me out of office, they'd put me in jail, and they'd be right to the hilt of your question about doing it and observing yourself doing it, and look, I've got where I've got in my life by

read and judged in its entirety—I have a very personal history of torture.

Q: That's clear in the past.

A: I believe that we as social with people who are a danger to Canadian society to carry on and a danger to our way of life, and we're part of a global effort, not a war on terror but a global effort, to defeat terrorism, and the message in *The Lesser Evil*, the message that was key to me in *The Lesser Evil*, was democratic states have to fight this battle with one hand behind their back, and it's because they fit one hand behind their back that they win. So getting to the issue of interrogation, interrogation has to be consistent with Canadian law,

consistent with international conventions—like the Convention on Torture—consistent with our international obligations. It has to be rigorous and thorough, because we're up against some threats to our security, but it must be within the traditions of the Canadian Charter and the applicable laws, and it must be subject to democratic scrutiny.

Q: Does Canadian law allow for coercive interrogations?

A: Not to be sure we should engage in these forms of coercive interrogations. Rigorous interrogations can take place without actions that would damage us morally or legally.

Q: What's the difference between coercive and rigorous interrogations?

A: Rigorous interrogation is consistent with Canadian law and international standards.

Q: So it's not coercive.

Q: So you no longer believe that coercive interrogations are useful.

A: When I talked about coercive interrogations, people often made the allusion right away to torture. That was never, ever, even intended or understood. There is a clear line between tough interrogations that stay on the right side of the law and stuff that gets into the area of mistreatment, and I've always been clear what that line is.

Q: I greatly admired your comments a couple of years ago in Afghanistan. You said that Canada had an obligation to keep its moral promise to the Afghan people despite the mounting death toll, and you said that the Canadian people have respect always large as possible. Would you consider committing Canadian Afghanistan beyond the 2011 deadline?

last that Mr. Harper has said?

A: No. My view is that we've kept our promise to the Afghan people, we've kept our promise to the government, we've kept our promise to NATO, but it was never in the nature of an indefinite promise, it was a bounded promise and that the job was to train the Afghan army and police to take over. Without a final deadline we can't accomplish that work. We've got to get the Afghan institutions to be responsible for the security of Afghanistan. And so I've been clear on that subject. It doesn't mean we cease our engagement and commitment in Afghanistan. We've lost some brave men and women, and their sacrifice must not be in vain, and therefore sustained and even increased involvement on the humanitarian, the political and the diplomatic side seems to be part of what we need to do, but with a particular focus on the political side. I'm just very concerned that we have a military strategy, and our men and women are doing superb work but there is no diplomatic political strategy. We need to engage with the Americans because we can't be there forever, it's not our country. We've got to engage with the Karzai government, with Pakistan, with India, with Russia, the geopolitical strategic players in the region, and say, "We'll have converging interests around stability in Afghanistan. How do we get there?" (Obama's Afghanistan essay) Dick Holbrooke is the kind of guy who can bring a strategy together, and I hope Canada will be a full player in that effort.

Q: How safe, Zerkowicz, is often at your side. How would you describe her influence and her role? She is a public relations background, or is she there for personal support?

A: She is the rock on which life is built. She has very good political judgment. I talk to her about everything. It's not public relations advice. It's everything advice.

Q: When all's said and done, when would you have liked us to accomplish for Canada as a politician?

A: Well, I'd like to restore hope, I'd like to be part of a process in which we become more than the national press, not less than the rest of our people. I'd like to do a few great things together in the next decade or so, so long as I'm around—we've talked about some of them—strengthen the bond of trust between that bond as together as a people, strengthen our citizenship, our common sense of being Canadian. People are saying, "Let's do something together. You can do it," and I hear it from one end of the country to the other. The job of a leader is to say, "Okay, there are 32,000 things we could do together. What are the three we could actually achieve? Let's roll up our sleeves and do it." ■



IGNATIEFF MEETING WITH PAUL ZED (LEFT) AND DON DAVEY, GAINING A TIME-SHARDED KNOWLEDGE OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE AND TACTICS

# THE MAKING OF A POLITICIAN

**How an unlikely team of newcomers and old Hill hands got behind Michael Ignatieff**

BY JOHN GEDDES

**I**n the suite of Parliament Hill offices reserved for the leader of the official opposition, a sump of paper on a newspaper's desk one day last week seemed to have drifted there from a previous era. The name scrawled on it in blue ballpoint pen: John Coats. In case you're rusty on Liberal lore, Coats was a legendary aide to prime ministers Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau. His name hasn't been heard much in federal power circles for years, except as a historical reference point. But when Michael Ignatieff was crafting his response to the Jan. 27 Con-

servative budget, his principal secretary, Ben Davey, telephoned Coats, who lives in Toronto but was vacationing in Wales, to ask a junior member's opinion. Thus the scribbled note logging the call.

There is something telling about Coats' long back in the keep-it-age-70 corner. One is that a family one. Ben Davey is son of Mark Davey, the former senator and equally senior Liberal staffer of the Pearson and Trudeau decades. At Ignatieff's closest adviser, the younger Davey, 51, stepped in (ignatieff's) history, yet he is also an outsider who worked most of his adult life in Toronto in a TV and documentary film production, and was, until very recently, mostly detached from Ottawa's intricate Liberal culture. The opposition he has pulled together has a mix of workaholic intelligents, like him, attracted by Ignatieff's withheld Hill hands. "We had a group of people

who had enjoyed how Michael operated, how Michael worked, what he looked like," Davey told Maclean's, "and we created an overlay of people with strong Ottawa experience."

From his corner office in the suite on the fourth floor of Parliament's Centre Block, where Ignatieff's crew is only just settling in, Davey cranes a view of the East Block, and can peek out the window of his father's former digs as a senator. Like Davey, Ignatieff is also a hybrid—an outsider with insider games. He made his name as an author in Britain and the U.S., but his diplomatic father was ministered in Ottawa after earlier. So a shared sense of informal purpose and personal detachment define Ignatieff and Davey. But that sort of chemistry doesn't count for much in the post-question period. What's noteworthy is how, with so little hands-on experience, and even less time to prepare, the new Liberal leader managed to not mess up his first big test—reacting to the Tory budget.

Prep time for that quest was extraordinarily tight. Typically, the new leader of a major party would assign a transition team to manage take-over from his predecessor. Davey put one in place for Ignatieff back in 2005, when he was the front runner going into the Liberal leadership convention, but lost to Stephen Harper. A similar transition would have been planned for next May's

convention. Instead, after the crisis in Parliament last year, Davey stopped down sharply, and then Ignatieff's leadership rivals dropped out. Ignatieff then took over the party in an unannounced takeover. Rather than orchestrating an orderly ascent, Davey was left scrambling to assemble a staff. The rest of the House and the crucial Jan. 27 budget allowed little margin for early errors. Ignatieff had to decide what to do about the controversial coalition deal Davey had struck with the NDP's Jack Layton, supported by the Bloc Québécois, to potentially defeat Stephen Harper's minority.

Ignatieff's handling of the budget offered the first clear glimpse into his style of leadership. His main advisors were a methodical advance communications strategy, a disciplined aide to keep key Liberal MPs in check, and finally a curious, almost minimalist, reaction to the budget itself, which allowed him to avoid a risky head-on collision with Harper's Conservatives. He seemed to be guided throughout by a reading of the public-opinion environment, rather than any preoccupation with the volatile microclimate of parties and personalities on Parliament Hill. "Canadians don't want more divisions, and they're tired of political games," he said the day after the budget. "They have waited 50 long for action on the economy for us to fail them now because of partisan interests."

His pre-budget road show alone was a minor triumph—and an impressive one, considering how humbly it was organized. When Ignatieff showed himself in December, he was about to step away from politics to finish a book about his mother's family over the Christmas break. Inexplicably, in the eyes of many Liberal insiders watching for the new leader to take charge, he stuck to that plan. Even more surprising was the lack of any clear signs of success from Davey during Ignatieff's ascent. Some party veterans gained that decisions were being made quickly. In fact, more Davey and Paul Zed, who was finally allowed aboard in the first week of January in secret to interconnect at staff, and eventually to help Ignatieff really begin to connect after Jan. 3. Now from time to time to pop up in Ignatieff's campaign, like the addition a few days ago of former MP Don Cousens, once John Grier's House leader, who brings his gained knowledge of parliamentary procedure and tactics.

Zed is an outgoing former MP, who was New Brunswick's 1991 and 2004 and 2006, has been in 1997 and 2008. Before that, he represented as an aide to the previous government's House Conservative speaker, mostly from East Coast Liberal headquarters, mostly from the Atlantic. Unlike Davey, who views Ottawa as "a bit of my hood," Zed Ignatieff's top two staffers are old friends

Zed and Davey met 15 years ago, serving together on the board of the Lester B. Pearson United World College of the Pacific—founded by some of the 600 who took over the party in an unannounced takeover. Zed describes his and Davey as "you only get it" Reddick on "process and style" and Davey handling the "big game."

The budget episode more proved challenge on both fronts. When he returned from book writing, Ignatieff needed to remind Canadians there was a new Liberal leader. In a quickly organized cross-country blitz, he bounced from Halifax town hall-style meeting, to a Toronto business luncheon, to a Vancouver pub night, to a Montreal meeting with senators. Taken together, the tour was remarkably trouble-free, especially considering Ignatieff's not-recently-remembered-up during his 2006 leadership run.

No matter the setting, Ignatieff often tried to hold down the complex economic issues of the day to down-to-earth examples. He said the author of letters on foreign policy, human rights, and world cricket, not to mention a former Oxford fellow and Harvard professor—had carried an intellectual baggage into politics. "I didn't want to be too much of a touch, he took pains to express empathy for Canadians directly by the sleeping economy. "We just put that you have your job," he said in Halifax, citing a threat down New Scotia well board plan, "you've got a son who's got diabetes, has substantial medical costs. You can only meet those costs if you're on a company health plan, right? It's not just this or that. It's worried about your job, you're worried about that. You're not worried about that. You're not worried about that."

Ignatieff's concern with keeping the message grounded is echoed frequently by his senior staff. "It doesn't matter if you're adding an economic policy in a meeting in politics of hope and change," Zed said. "You need to have a conversation in simple language." Asked to describe the sort of opposition he's trying to defeat, Davey also stresses straight talk, both to Canadians and his own MPs. "Decisions are measured, decisions are clear, language is simple and direct," he says. "People like and go, 'I understand why they did that, I understand where they're going.'"

As for Liberal MP who Ignatieff is concerned, said Ignatieff has so far used his knack for clearly explaining his position more to calm down his critics, rather than to shame them. He did at during a dramatic session in Ottawa during last December's crisis in Parliament, when Ignatieff MPs by talking about the pitfalls of their coalition with the NDP and their rival, Bob Rae, had caused them to show by making no concessions. Rae's leadership had been briefly noted Liberal support, but he was soon bowing out of the leadership race for lack of support among party insiders.

Ignatieff's pre-budget road show proved to be an improbable triumph

**IGNATIEFF'S PRE-BUDGET ROAD SHOW PROVED TO BE AN IMPROBABLE TRIUMPH**



IGNATIEFF NEEDED DISCIPLINE TO KEEP (PERRY) MP'S IN CHECK

Ignatieff's pre-budget performance generated solidly positive reviews. Even when he's on, however, he's not exactly a natural stump speaker. After decades as a writer skilled at writing and analyzing, rather than just doing, he sometimes tells us in enough he's observing himself, almost like the subject of his next essay. After a day in Montreal, for example, he didn't wait for others to assess how he'd performed—he summed it up himself for a Montreal Gazette reporter. "I think my approach was on display today," he said. "I go into rooms, starting the day with the papers, the big newspaper, and they ask me enough questions. I do my best to answer. I then go to a meeting with the labour union and have a very direct and frank discussion with them."

And then, in the front of 150 of the best and brightest (eventually media), no safety net, and take any question that comes." If Ignatieff is nearly self-conscious, he takes pains not to become so in opposition. Though Liberal MPs, he's been promoting himself. At any time, as a leader ready to listen. He dined with his New Brunswick MPs this week, hearing them out before granting any permission to vote against the budget, and urged the Liberals back to the front lines in opposition, pointing to the province Zed said his own experience in what one offers a fraction. Liberal caucus has often with a strong sense of the need for "transparency" from the leader and "openness" toward MPs' views. Davey said Ignatieff's relationship with MPs will only improve as they realize he wants them to share the

spotlight, unlike Harper, whom Duvey carried off, making a one-man show. "The difference is we're going to build a front bench," he said. "And we're going to build ours in this party."

But collegiality can only go so far. Ultimately, leaders have to make hard decisions and wear them. Ignatieff snarled well as Ignatieff's leading that time change," said Zed. For the Liberals, though, timing is a key move. In their dreams, Ignatieff and his brain trust would like to see Conservative voters being slowly coaxed into the Liberals. For the moment, then, for an election just as the economy is set to rebound. But triggering the next campaign so personally would require a victory Jack as much as sound planning.

ML asked questions devoid of personal attacks on Harper



## IGNATIEFF HAS MADE IT EASY FOR THE TORIES TO PLAY ALONG WITH HIM

It's not surprising that Ignatieff has been losing the budget pass, an indication the Tories agree to repeat back at regular intervals on implementing as a measure. "We're putting this government on probation," was his most widely quoted line. That sounded tough enough. Yet not demand any, may hand changes in his budget amendment. Ignatieff made it easy for the Tories to play along. "The amendment just states the obvious," said government House leader Jay Hill, "as we've very pleased to see it will be moved forward." Show down postponed. Ignatieff followed up by lowering the temperature in the House. At the start of each question period, he issued a cluster of policy questions, all devoid of personal attacks on the Prime Minister. How can we build infrastructure funding? Why not consult with provinces about equalization? What was the government doing about U.S. protectionism?

By recent standards of House decorum, or lack of it, Ignatieff's wounding Harper off early that his issue beyond he was sure driving a style they hope will gradually win over Canadians weary of acid parliament. The tone of Parliament exchanging and Michael

So behind Ignatieff's poised, low-impact public voice as leader, a more frenetic retooling of the Liberal machine has begun. And he carefully calibrated early performance makes sense if that ambivalence overflew as viewed is barely under way. After all, Ignatieff can't risk a decisive clash with the Tories until his party is seriously ready to bid again for power. Thus a fresh start is long overdue, not now enough. Four years ago, Jan Cosins went about the need to rejuvenate the badly neglected party. He had hoped it would help premier Paul Martin. In reality, now in the House, Ignatieff is able to keep closer tabs on another leader, and the Liberal opponents to his old status as a virtual co-leader, yet to reverse the Liberal banner's faded glory. ■

### OBAMA NEEDS TO INVEST IN HIS LEADERSHIP

"It will cost him a lot of political capital, but he needs to invest a lot of political capital. Unfortunately, he will have to use it all, otherwise his leadership, which is highly regarded around the world, will be tarnished very quickly."—Former international trade minister Peter Pettigrew comments on the chances that Barack Obama will deliver under "The American" legislation now before the U.S. Congress.

## Feds look into Canada's killer homes



EVERY YEAR, 2,000 die from radon exposure. Is it in your home?

BY MICHAEL FREISLANDT • Your life savings are vanishing, your job is in jeopardy, and the repo man has already visited some of your friends and relatives. Now here's the really bad news: your beloved home—the one you've desperately tried to save from foreclosure—may actually be killing you (and not because of the mortgage payments).

The culprit? Radon, a featureless, odorless, invisible gas that lurks in cellars and crawl spaces and is the second-leading cause of lung cancer, next to smoking. Every year up to 2,000 Canadians die a premature death because their homes—unknown to them—are loaded with this radioactive particles.

This nasty radon gas is hardly new (scientists have been studying its fatal side-effects for more than a century), but the federal government is suddenly anxious to find out which neighbourhoods are most at risk. Over the next two years, Health Canada plans to spend almost \$ million testing 18,000 randomly chosen homes, with the end result being an online "radon journal map" that pinpoints possible danger zones. "Radon is the largest source of radiation exposure for most Canadians," says Jack Corrigan, a ministry spokesman. "But we are interested that there is a real lack of awareness about it."

Here's what Health Canada wants you to know: first, don't panic. Radon's naturally occurring gas released by natural decay in the soil, and the experts believe that only 2.5 per cent of all homes contain "unsafe" levels (more than 100 becquerels per cubic metre). Second, if you're still nervous, conduct your own test. Don't overpay! radon kits cost as little as \$10 at the local hardware store. Third, and all the condos in your basement floor. Radon levels to seep through those cracks.

OK, and don't smoke cigarettes. Appropriately that causes lung cancer, too. ■

ARTIST: JEFFREY M. HARRIS  
PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL FREISLANDT

## CAPITAL DIARY

### MAYRE LAURKIN SHOULD HAVE BEEN THERE

Stephen Harper took a rail gun to the window frames of an Ottawa home to promote his budget's home renovation tax credit. The gun worked for the first rail, then suddenly didn't. It turned out it was because the safety device needed to be jostled hard against a surface to be released. Once that was figured out, the PM was good to go. But ask any Conservative in the know and they'll say it's Laureen Harper who wants the bad but for the good. After all, "she's the one who makes the mortgage," noted one Tory. The day after the rail gun phony the busy PM was in front of the Ottawa Congress Centre, which is being torn down and rebuilt. To prevent any embarrassing prime ministerial falls, a bull dozer was there early to drop some dirt on the new path. The phony was to publicize the infrastructure money being poured in the current budget. Former Liberal MP Jean Lapierre, now a broadcaster with the Quebec network TVA, told Capital Daily he has just won money from the firm, one of the capital near the, too, specifically targeted.

### QUEBEC MISSING WITH CURIA?

The Montreal party pulled into Ottawa for Cdn's Liberation Day celebrations. Members were there to promote Quebec separatism. The party was in Montreal last year, (Chris Brown) Stephen Harper (left) and David Shear.



LAUREEN HARPER on ladder at a press warhouse in Ottawa in preparation for an HRC call (top left), David Shear (left), Laureen Harper, Martha Hall Findlay, Conservative Party van in Montreal last year, (Chris Brown) Stephen Harper (left) and David Shear.

a broadcaster, Teresa to the Jewish Studies Association at the end of the year. The Newfies are known for their political saving, but one of their predecessors from the old Rhinoceros Party is actually in, as an MP. Newfoundland Liberal Scott Brison, elected in 2004, ran the campaign for the Rhinoceros candidate in the riding of St. John's South.

democracy," says Simon. The MP says that received their great compliment from Prime Trudeau. He called them "the court jesters of the Canadian political system."

### IF YOU SEE MARTHA'S GLASSES...

Liberal MP Gerard Kennedy, whose eye problems, Jan finally found contact lenses he can wear. They should of glasses were embedded in his eye from a hockey accident 25 years ago when he was his glasses on the ice with a face guard. One Liberal member of staff told politicians the former barman between them and the public is better. In the case of former leader Stéphane Dion, staffers tried getting him to govern his glasses but his eyes were too squinty. He got a new pair. Also on the sponsor front, "Toronto Girl" MP Martha Hall Findlay has been absent recently leaving pairs of glasses all over the bill—on some benches, she says she's been buying reading glasses in bulk from Chapters. Capital Daily and MP Mark Eyking found one of her many pairs in the Parliamentary Restaurant and returned them to her. "You lost these every night, didn't you?" he joked.

### KID'S CAFETERIA STANDSTILL

Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff is a man on the move. But you can't put the government "on probation" as an employer's act. While on the bill, he has almost always the same thing from the cafeteria—a small beef sandwich with onions, the daily soup, popovers and an occasional cookie. ■

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# THE DREAM JOB FROM HELL

**The U.S. faces foreign crises everywhere it turns. It's Hillary Clinton's job to fix them.** BY LUKE CH. SAVAGE

**T**he most memorable television ad that Hillary Rodham Clinton ran during the Democratic primary campaign against Barack Obama was the one with the cell telephone ringing in it. "While your children are safely sleeping," the announcer intoned, "something's happening in the world. Your vote will decide who answers that call." That Obama was dangerously unprepared to deal with a foreign crisis was a key Clinton campaign theme. She pro-

motioned herself and Republican candidate John McCain as passing the "commander-in-chief" torch—and pointedly refused to say the name of Obama.

Then her own campaign clothes involved foreign policy. Obama wanted to sit down with leaders of rogue nations such as Cuba, North Korea or Iran "without preconditions," an idea Clinton dismissed as "inexpedient and frankly naive." She voted for a Senate resolution asking the Bush administration to designate the Iranian Quds force a terrorist organization—something Obama said was playing into a Bush administration ploy to lay the groundwork for war against Iran. And Obama lauded an superior judgment in opposing the Iraq invasion (he voted to authorize the use of force), while

implying Clinton's foreign policy experience as first lady consisted of having tea with ambassadors. "What exactly is this foreign policy experience?" Obama had made much of the New York senator. "Was the aspirating teacher? Was she handling cases? The answer is no."

Now is her chance. By making Clinton America's 67th secretary of state, Clinton has already given his biggest political rival a stake in the success of his administration. It's a risk for both of them. There is no doubting Clinton's internationalist leanings, war's ethics and tenacity. But her descent to Obama remains a question mark in a job where the odds are as steep as speaking for the man in charge. And there have been the concerns about her husband's possible role behind the

scenes—and the potential for an appearance of conflict of interest emanating from foreign donations to his international charitable projects, under an agreement with the Obama transition team, he agreed to disclose publicly, but not to halt.

But Clinton is known for being direct and valuing her message to the politics of the moment, so there is little risk of her running wild of Obama. Still, in a eagerly shifting global political environment, the dream job must easily turn into a nightmare. The Gaza crisis, the mess in Afghanistan, an unstable Pakistan, the perennial drawdown in a fragile Iraq, a nuclear Iran and a bellicose Russia are only some of the things on the agenda. The easiest thing would have been to watch from

the Senate in the new guy made mistakes lauded, Clinton was offered by the first vote of 94-6, and in planning into one of the toughest jobs—under the strictest scrutiny.

"Hillary Clinton has been one of the most polarizing figures in American politics in the last 15 years," says Michael O'Hanlon, a senior fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank. "Even though she's had a good year politically, she is not guaranteed to enjoy strong support. If people think they see something they want to not live about her re-emerging and causing problems for American diplomacy—they will be all over her."

**T**wo days after Obama's inauguration, Clinton arrived at Foggy Bottom, the massive concrete headquarters of the State Department in Washington, and received a rock star welcome. She wasted no time in proclaiming a "new era for America" and a new day for American diplomacy. She signaled an end to a decade in which diplomats were given sound-biting to generals, and pledged to elevate "diplomacy and development" to a national ideology. "We're not any longer going to tolerate the kind of disavowal that has paralyzed and undermined our ability to get things done for America," she said.

She arrived with a new mantra too: "smart power," a concept of combining "soft power" with "hard power" that had been gaining currency among foreign policy thinkers who considered the unilateral and unilateral approach of the last eight years something other than smart. Clinton said the State Department her approach will mean using discretion through "the full range of tools at our disposal—diplomacy, economic, military, political, legal and cultural—picking the right tool or combination of tools for each situation." With smart power, diplomacy will be the vanguard of our foreign policy.

Obama himself has aimed no less than restoring his reputation abroad (healing the wounds and rule of America abroad). On his second day in office, he moved directly to the detention center at Guantánamo Bay, where he ordered secret CIA prisons shut down, reopened borders, and reinvented all Bush administration legal opinions authorizing aggressive interrogation techniques. On Jan. 26, he gave his first televised interview to a president not to a major U.S. network but in Dubai-based Al Jazeera, which he followed up on his inauguration speech promise of friendship to any regime that "understands" its fit, and spoke directly to the people of Muslim

countries. "Now, my job is to communicate the fact that the United States has a stake in the well-being of the Muslim world, that the language we use has to be a language of respect," Obama said, noting that he has Muslim family members and has lived in the most populous Muslim country, Indonesia. "My job to the Muslim world is to communicate that the Americans are not your enemy."

It was a stunning performance that was alternately hailed as game-changing diplomacy or dismissed as naive blather. But whether Obama's outstretched hand and other elements of Clinton's "smart power" mantra will add up to more than rhetoric or a bumper sticker slogan remains to be seen. Smart power advocates in the White House foreign policy establishment say it signals a major shift in U.S. foreign policy. The concept dates back to a 2004 article in *Foreign Policy* by Suzanne Nossel, now the chief operating officer of Human Rights Watch. It was picked up in 2006, when the Center for Strategic & International Studies convened a commission of prominent figures to rethink American's approach to the world. This was chaired by Harvard professor Joseph Nye, the champion of "soft power," and Richard Armitage, a former deputy secretary of state under George W. Bush. They looked at how the U.S. could reverse the negative trend of its declining moral and influence around the world, and "smart power" was their solution that they then tried to sell to all the leading presidential candidates. "It's meant to suggest that the U.S. needs to be more thoughtful in a strategic way and not always rely on hard power first but look at other tools—diplomacy, aid, economics," says Carole McGiffert, director of the commission. "Promoting U.S. interests will always be our first priority—but also promoting the global public good."

What smart power seems to amount to is Clinton's conception is a new emphasis on diplomacy and speedier foreign aid, more engagement coupled with actions to match the words so familiar from the Bush years. And the first test of the new approach will be with the country first in emerging at a top agenda item for Clinton, Pakistan.

It largely fits the most dangerous scenario in the world today—on one hand, a more internationalist inclination to reduce conflict around the threat of democracy in the Muslim world. As long as Pakistan permits an sanctuary for groups like al-Qaeda and the Taliban, it will be difficult for it to be possible for NATO to stabilize Afghanistan. Pakistan has one of the fastest growing nuclear programs in the world. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues to

JOE MURRAY/GETTY

leached producer from stands named as hills at the mountainous border, but which have also isolated enormous enclaves, smothering the Palestinian population and helping fuel a drift toward Islamic militancy.

"I would put Palestinian at the top of the list," says Bruce Riedel, a 30-year veteran of the CIA and senior fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, a think-tank in Washington. "The trick in all of this is that there is no unilateral or military solution to the problem. We can't invade and occupy Palestine. We won't. Is bin Laden's job to be to get more co-operation from the Palestinian government? The challenge for Secretary Clinton is to find incentives and leverage that encourage Palestine to become a full partner in fighting the Taliban and al-Qaeda instead of the half-hearted ally they have been in the last couple of decades." Riedel says. But another huge problem is the fact that the new drafting, governance headed by Rafi Al-Zuhairi, the widow of Yasser Arafat, who was assassinated in December 2002, is very weak and has only nominal control over the Palestinian army and intelligence system. "So in addition to looking for ways to get them to work with us, she has to find a way to empower them in their own country," Riedel adds.

This is where smart power could prove polyvalent in Clinton's leverage can include increasing economic and military assistance to the civilian government, Clinton and her husband are both popular in India and can also try to address some of the problems caused in that country and Pakistan—brought over in the wake of the Mumbai massacre in November that killed at least 171 people. And as a sign of the top priority the administration is assigning to Pakistan, it has brought in Richard Holbrooke, one of Clinton's most trusted foreign policy advisers, as a special envoy for both Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Holbrooke is a seasoned diplomat who chaired the 1995 Dayton peace process that ended three years of war in Bosnia. His hands-on approach has drawn comparisons to bulldozers and bulldogs. "The appointment of Richard Holbrooke is a very powerful suggestion that this is a big-complicated matter that won't be dealt with in a business as usual manner," says Frederick Berens, a former foreign policy adviser to the Obama campaign and grandson team who also served on the current power committee. "He's a diplomat with a large appetite for complex problems and it's not hard when he is in the middle of one. It was done at the heart and of the administration, which says this is a big one and we have to give it some special attention." Berens says Clinton's smart power approach will be to seek in Palestine

in part of a regional diplomatic effort. It will also help, provide a common opinion and for getting people, encouraging the construction of cross-border energy pipelines to deal with energy challenges, and other "joint co-developments" in a region where people aren't inclined to trust each other.

The emphasis on diplomacy and development will also be quickly tested in Afghanistan, where the new administration plans to almost double the U.S. troop presence to 100,000 but also ramp up spending on rebuilding the country. "The Bush administration always treated Afghanistan as an end point," says Riedel. "Iraq got the best and brightest, more money, more troops, and more intelligence. Barack Obama has pledged since he started running for president

to make that border secure in the Middle East, thanks to the work in Gaza. On Jan. 18, Clinton sent a record-setting, George Mitchell, senior advisor. Mitchell is a former senior and diplomat credited with arranging the peace accord in Northern Ireland during the Clinton administration. Mitchell's top task in Europe, Egypt, Israel, the West Bank, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Among Mitchell's goals was to harness the mutual resolve in Gaza into something more permanent, to help prevent Hamas from using smuggling tunnels to arms, and to provide humanitarian aid to the Palestinians in Gaza. Oh—and reintegrate the peace process. It's been a slow start. Mitchell did call for the border crossings to Gaza to be

there is a lot of opportunity for this as this one. So they look around and realize the most important guy in the room is the one that is not talking."

But one group Mitchell won't be listening to is Hamas. At his confirmation hearing, Clinton ruled out direct talks with Hamas until the group renounces violence. (Egypt is brokering indirect talks between Hamas and Israel.) "When it comes to new actors across the Hamas, there are conditions," she said. "Hamas must renounce violence. They must recognize Israel, and they must agree to abide by all previous agreements. These are conditions that are usually part of the preliminary discussions that would lead to any kind of negotiation."

COUNTRIES like Iran need to 'unclinch their fist,' Obama says



## OBAMA HAS SHREWDLY GIVEN HIS GREATEST RIVAL A STAKE IN HIS SUCCESS

Clinton's staunch support of Israel in the U.S. Senate and during her campaign may enhance her currency with Israelis, while Obama's effort to lead public opinion amid Arab attention abroad. But Mitchell's task remains a daunting one. There are two Palestinian rivals for power—the Palestinian Authority of the West Bank led by Fatah and President Mahmoud Abbas, who is recognized by the U.S. and Israel, and Hamas in Gaza. Meanwhile, Israel is preparing for an election on Feb. 13, resulting in a power vacuum and the potential for a change in government that could further complicate matters. And on key issues, border borders to refugees in control of Jerusalem, Israeli and Palestinian arrest for rape.

"We're not there," says Aaron Miller, a senior U.S. Middle East negotiator and author of *The Much Too Arab Israeli Peace: America's Elusive Search for Arab-Israeli Peace*. "Israel

has no decision-maker for the next weeks, and there is a dysfunctional Palestinian bureau with two armies, two policies, and two negotiating positions." Add to that other details, such as needing the Egyptians to take a lead role in a permanent ceasefire, and Mitchell is facing "a lot of moving pieces—some of which will be behind doors. For some months," says Miller, now scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, a foreign policy think tank in Washington. "We are at the beginning of a long run."

Another pressing issue facing Clinton is how to deal with Iran, which Obama is on track to make a major move. He is to have a chance to meet with Iranian leaders, including Ahmadinejad, in the White House. "Iran is willing to unclinch their fist, they will find creative ways to do it," Clinton quickly let it be known that the first move was up to Tehran. "The next is a clear opportunity for the Iranians, as the President expressed in his statement, to demonstrate some willingness to engage constructively fully with the international community," Clinton told reporters. "Whether or not that hand becomes less clenched is really up to them."

Asked in her Senate confirmation hearing about the prospect of high-level negotiations with Iran, whether the U.S. would send some kind of diplomatic presence to the country with which it broke off relations in 1979,

Clinton said only that the policy was under review and no options had been ruled out. "What will pursue a new, perhaps different approach that will become a cornerstone of what the Obama administration believes is an effective, forward engagement that might bear fruit," she said.

Baron says part of Clinton's "smart power" approach advocated by the Obama camp led to a search for common ground with Iran on issues other than its nuclear power, its occupation of Afghan territory or its borders, the

international of nuclear issues, among Iran's access to energy markets. But the Obama administration has also made clear that any talks about Iran's nuclear program will require Iran to suspend nuclear enrichment. "The dialogue and diplomacy must go hand in hand with a very firm message: From the United States and the international community that Iran needs to meet its obligations as defined by the Security Council," U.S. Ambassador to the UN Susan Rice told reporters. "And in continuing refusal to do so will only cause pressure to increase." Neither Barack Clinton has said whether the administration would consider offering to temporarily suspend existing sanctions against Iran in exchange for an enrichment suspension—a stimulus offer that would allow both sides to sit down and negotiate over the future of the nuclear program.

"It's very clear how the diplomacy is going to shape up. The Obama administration is very happy to talk up, and while we're talking about all of these major, complicated issues—nuclear and Iraq and Afghanistan and Arab-Israeli and so forth—we're going to be building our confidence and expanding our construction capacity," said George Sorensen, vice president of the Council of Foreign Relations (CFR) and former director of congressional relations for the National Security Council in the Clinton administration, at a recent CFR discussion in Washington. "I think early on the Obama administration is going to need to propose to Iran that both sides suspend their hostile actions in a way to create space for a truly comprehensive effort to resolve issues. I think we'll actually find that pretty soon whether or not the Iranians are prepared to accept that offer."

There is also a hope in Washington that any effort to engage Iran could short-circuit the international willingness to impose tougher sanctions if Iran does not cooperate and brooking a crisis of Clinton. "You have to think several steps down the road. You negotiate with these regimes not because you think that will be the right thing, but they also set you up for the next step that show other countries that have leverage that the faithfulness stands with one party." But if Iran gives a nuclear weapon, he warned, Obama won't end the House regardless of the progress Tehran made under Bush.

## SOUTH CAROLINA: 'BOMB' SMELL JUST A STINK

The Delaware port office in Summerville had to be evacuated last week when an official suspected a bomb was in the building. They reported what they called a "bomb-like smell." A search by a bomb squad turned up nothing. "The re was no smell. It just stunk," was the first report. The bomb squad was called when a customer walked in and said, "The re was a stink." The customer was a foodservice employee at a new restaurant.



## GAZA, IRAQ, RUSSIA, PAKISTAN—JUST SOME OF WHAT'S ON THE AGENDA



'SMART POWER' Clinton said she is combining high-level bilateral talks with North Korea



identical that he would reverse the priority. The goal was for him to let Iraq in meeting in the right direction and it will be easier to address American priority toward Afghanistan that might have taken a year ago Iraq remains fragile, though, and a huge in conditions there could pose problems for Obama's ability to transfer troops from Iraq to Afghanistan.

Still, the dual Pakistan-Afghanistan mandate for Holbrooke is a promising start, Riedel says. "In the 1980s, we at the CIA came up with strategies ways to make life miserable for the Soviet army occupying Kabul," he says. "Now we find ourselves occupying Kabul and we're not even making life miserable for us. We can learn from that expert case that the key to victory is how you manage Pakistan. The Russians never came up with an answer."

responded to allow the free flow of goods, but the Israelis turn us far away."

"What I've told him is what by listening," Obama said in an interview. "All we can do is the U.S. starts by listening. In the past we've done this and we don't always leave all the factors that are involved. So let's listen. He's going to be speaking to all the major parties involved. And he will then speak back to us from there. And we will formulate a specific response."

The strategy, at the very least, a world-class leader. "I know George well and I've seen that the quality he brought to the North American conversation is clearly one he'll bring to this situation," says Berens. "He is a true American statesman and has a high level of patience. He engages people they disagree arguments until they start to be influenced by their own behavior—and

Aud of zones there are other threats in a world in which each day brings new shifts. Russia, which was accurately the biggest last year, has reportedly made a U-turn on its threat to deploy missiles to the Kaliningrad enclave west to Poland while Obama vows plans to install a missile shield in Poland and the Czech Republic. On Tuesday, Clinton spoke with her Russian counterpart about strengthening bilateral cooperation on arms control, Afghanistan and the world financial crisis.

But Russia's recent standoff with Ukraine now testing on the verge of economic collapse—eventual gains has shown that Moscow is still inclined to flex its muscles. As is Turkey, the lone Muslim ally in NATO and a strategic keystone in relations with the Muslim world. In relationship with the West is becoming increasingly strained as its bid for EU membership stalls. On Jan. 28, French Minister Brice Hortefeux, today, reportedly walked out of a dinner on the Middle East at the annual conference, forum at Davos, Switzerland, after telling Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, "You are killing people."

With Russia covering Pakistan and the Middle East, and the military still taking divided in Iraq and Afghanistan, Clinton appears to be seeking out personal turf in Asia, and is expected to make her first official trip to the region. She has talked about expanding the dialogue with China, which she said had been overly focused on economic matters under Bush. She said reports that it is also considering high level bilateral talks with North Korea. With news that the exclusive rights is getting ready to spin out a long-range missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead, North Korea might move up Clinton's "to do" list.

So far, the new administration's efforts at turning the foreign policy page have opened world attention. Some of it has been negative, as an indication that neither the new Obama's inauguration, at Qaddafi led Obama, but his long-held goal to "for seven more years, and seven more after that, and then seven more." But Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, who once called Bush a devil, said, "I am very happy and the world is happy that this young president has arrived. We welcome the new government and we are filled with hope." And former Cuban leader Fidel Castro lauded Obama's honesty and "moral integrity."

Clinton has seemed energized by her first few days in office. She recently told reporters, "There is a great exhilaration of breath going on around the world. We've got a lot of ongoing corporate." But there are early days. Everyone is eager to give the new administration "the breath of the double," says Bill De. "But the devil is in the details and the follow through."

## Spy scandals rock German railway

**BY PATRICIA TREHLE** • Latest, German business seems to have developed a worry: spying. Business for spy agencies and the latter case is truly shocking. Last week Wolfgang Schaumburg, the anti-corruption officer at Germany's state-owned railway, slammed a police on a story continues when he admitted that Deutsche Bahn had spied on 17,800 employees, more than 70 per cent of its workforce.



GERMANY'S main railway may have spied on 17,800

with data on firms that did business with the railway. Though Deutsche Bahn spokesman Oliver Schumacher said the firm had done "nothing wrong" and even denied that the railway's actions could be called spying, there were immediate calls for the government to investigate whether it broke privacy laws.

Originally, Deutsche Bahn said it was looking into just 41 cases of surveillance, which hadn't used national railway data. More recently there were revelations from Strauss that the railway had investigated 1,000 executives and their spouses either this decade or in a corruption probe. Now there are allegations that Deutsche Bahn hacked over private data on a massive scale, prompting outrage from Peter Schöler, the federal data protection commissioner, who said it was "complete nonsense when every single executive falls under general suspicion."

The railway scandal is just the latest to envelop Germany's businesses. Last May, Deutsche Bahn acknowledged "the illegal use of communications data" in a spying operation. It also allegedly had former East German secret policemen snoop on journalists, while Lufthansa troled through flight information in a similar scheme.

Meanwhile, as unions demand a full accounting at the railway, speculation is building that CEO Hartmut Meerkamp will be lobbied to the curb. It would be an unprecedented move for a politically connected boss who once boasted that "no one can touch me."

## Dissent up as millions lose jobs in China

**BY PATRICIA TREHLE** • China has long had an unofficial computer with its people don't ask for political reform, and in return, we'll provide you with jobs. But as the global economic crisis tightens its grip on the nation, that agreement is under severe strain.

On Monday, the government revealed that 10 million migrant workers have returned to their homes in the poverty-stricken countryside after losing their jobs at urban factories and construction sites. Peng Xing, Ying Hui, an economist for China Daily, thinks that the number could soon double. In an effort to stave off widespread unrest, the Communist party has promised to pump at least 10 billion yuan into the economy.

The government is worried about the potential for destabilizing unrest in a country that is already plagued by tens of thousands of "social disturbances" caused by ordinary Chinese who are unable to get their grievances heard by the ruling elite. They are particularly concerned about the fact that new communication technologies have made it a lot easier for angry citizens to organize.

The latest example of this is a viral chain of human rights that's quickly spreading throughout the Internet chat rooms. Called Chain 06, the document and an accompanying petition were originally published by Internet users in December, but they are now circulating among workers. The ruling class continues to cling to its authoritarian power, it promises the chain.



CHINA detained 65 after he signed the new viral charter

The multiplying protests are evidence of official corruption, an underpinning of the rule of law, and human rights, decay in public life, and a growing inequality between the wealthy and the poor. The government tried to stamp out the movement by censoring the online chain, removing signatures and even dragging leading dissident Liu Xiaobo. But the petition has continued to gain converts. Now more than 5,000 have signed on, including regular internet user Hong Xianhua, a science magazine editor who told the Washington Post, "I am not afraid of arrest." On Jan. 15, the government shut down his blog.

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## Royal now dwarfs most U.S. banks

**BY JASON KIRBY** • Could the Royal Bank of Canada soon become the largest bank on the continent? Even a year ago, to suggest such a prospect would have gotten you laughed off of Bay Street. But with the value of some of the world's biggest banks in free fall, RBC is looking remarkably healthy these days. The bank's market capitalization is now about \$100 billion, making RBC worth as much as Citibank, Royal Bank of Scotland, Deutsche Bank and Barclays combined. Only the U.S. banks, such as Bank of America, Wells Fargo and JPMorgan Chase, are larger.

Granted, RBC only looks so big because rising former giants are now tiny, victims of lost loans and dodgy investments. Citigroup, which was a \$225 billion behemoth in mid-2007, is now worth only \$19 billion. In comparison, RBC lost only half its value—surprising, but much better than most.

The greater question is, what will RBC and Canada's other banks do with their new-found clout? Many have said they won't use their larger market caps to go shopping. Instead, earlier this year Scotiabank jacked the rates of National City, a big Ohio bank laid low by mortgage troubles. If liquidity returns to the economy, that could be a huge opportunity.



**RBC NOW** has double Citigroup's value, but a merger is unlikely

For one bank to become global players. Unfortunately, few are that strong place. "It would be nice to look at it and say, 'Wow, why doesn't the Royal Bank buy Citibank?'" says Laurence Booth, a finance professor at the University of Toronto. "The fact is, mergers won't happen."

For one thing, no one really knows how many bad loans are lurking on bank balance sheets, says Booth. And since Washington has failed over billions to prop up the bank, anyway, there's little chance a foreign takeover would be allowed. "If the U.S. government socializes all the bank loans, they're not going to look kindly on any Canadian bank coming in to do a takeover." ■

## Yes, it's a good time for Money Mart



**AS THE BANKS** clamp down, the payday lenders are filling the void

**BY SCOTT CAMPBELL** • The past year was one that many companies would probably like to forget. But our industry has been doing just fine, and believe it or not, it's in the fastest sector of the payday loan business.

These so-called lenders of last resort, such as Money Mart, specialize in small, short-term loans at high-interest rates. They've been making big gains in these tough economic times, winning customers who need emergency loans, as well as those frustrated by tightening credit at the big banks.

Loanitech, Edmonton-based Cash Store Financial Services Inc., which has 415 stores across Canada, announced it had a "stellar" quarter, with branch revenues up 11 per cent compared to the same period last year. "We haven't seen anything really negatively impact our business," says CEO Gordon Reyford, adding that the company plans to open 70 new stores this year. Dollar Financial Corp., the U.S. company that owns Money Mart, has been on a roll, too. It recently reported that its total revenue was up 17 per cent last quarter—a company record.

Still, Scott Kyrus, president of the Canadian Payday Loan Association, which represents 20 payday loan companies, is cautious about the coming year. He says the industry has "levelled off," in part because of job losses that faced with the choice of defaulting on a small bank loan or going to a payday lender, he says people still tend to choose the latter.

Not everyone is happy with the sector's success. Consumer watchdogs say payday lenders prey on those who can't afford their high-cost loans and fees. Several provinces are now clamping down on the weak lending practices—a move supported by the CIBC, which is eager to clean up the industry's image. Good thing, because like their critics, risks like payday lenders are here to stay. ■

## Feds look to school us in finances

**BY EMILY BURKE** • It looks like Canada's consumers are in for a little financial school. Hidden among the 950 pages of the federal government's recent budget proposal is a plan to launch a new financial literacy task force this spring. The task force, which will include representatives from the business, education, academic and volunteer sectors, will report to Flaherty with recommendations on how best to equip Canadians to make more responsible financial decisions.

The new effort appears to be a nice acknowledgement that this part of the blame for today's financial mess falls on regular Canadians who was on more debt than they should have. "We are productive people who can design and build complex buildings and bridges, but can't collectively manage their personal finances," said Flaherty during a Washington speech last May. "Accuracy's financial success is ultimately the sum of the financial success of all no households."

The U.S. is also trying to educate its consumers. The proposed National Financial Literacy Act, an amended last week, aims to create financial education programs in communities across the country. The bill includes measures to motivate financial educators and businesses to inform their customers of the benefits and repercussions of their financial decisions.

In Canada, educators say the initiative is long overdue. Our citizens are expected to graduate from high school knowing how to read and write, but most can't balance a checkbook. "I think there's a real need to deal with it at the public school and the high school level," says Lynn Lissner, financial educator and director of Financial Canada Inc. She adds that many of her clients are inattentive people who simply have never been taught the basics of finance.

Debra Jans, education coordinator for Credit Canada, agrees. She says that the days when you could cover on the bank not to lead you too much are gone. "People need to take responsibility for themselves," she says. "The financial institutions have left all the weight on the shoulders of the consumer." ■

**FLAHERTY: We can build stuff, but we're no good with cash**

## MACLEAN'S 2009

# University Student Issue

- Students grade their schools: results from 59 universities
- How to get university credit in high school
- 10 tips for first year
- Canada's best teachers



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HIT SEND: More than 90,000 students have delivered their verdicts. Canada's universities are beginning to respond.

# Students grade their universities

**Our fourth annual survey finds small schools in the lead, Canada lagging the U.S.—and a big push to improve undergrad education**  
BY SANDY FARRAN AND TONY KELLER

**A** least every day for the past few years, Nig Martin has spent three hours on public transit, commuting to and from the University of Calgary. She looks forward to Wednesdays, when, for the first class doesn't start until 11 a.m. and the commuting is a breeze. On other days, the fourth-year political science and English major is as cranky as a 9 a.m. and, because she's involved in campus politics, she often stays late into the night. "The hard part about being a commuter is the exhaustion," says Martin. But early in her university career, she decided to get involved in student politics in part to make new friends, have a place to relax and study between classes, and so that she could avoid feeling like an orphan on campus and avoid being "a member of some type of community." Right now, she's preparing up for student elections, where she's

running for vice-president, academic.

In some ways, Martin is the typical undergraduate she's 21, attends an urban university with a student body that is the size of a small city and lives at home with her parents. However, Martin is also deeply involved in campus activities—and that sets her apart from many students at Calgary and elsewhere. She demonstrates some of the attributes of what the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) calls an "engaged student." Research has shown that various different forms of engagement—driven Martin's high level of involvement—correlate with gains in knowledge and skills, and the opportunity to work closely with professors are likely to lead to more learning, and greater student success. In an effort to assess the level of student engagement at Calgary, officials hired Martin and three other students to help conduct surveys,

focus groups and interviews of staff, students and administrators. "This is exciting, because it'll give me the opportunity to get my hands dirty and connect with stakeholders at this university," says Martin.

On the following pages, we present the NSSE results from 55 Canadian institutions. NSSE, a student survey that seeks to indirectly measure educational quality, has become an essential analytical tool used by most Canadian universities. The survey platform what students are doing while they are in school and on campus. NSSE then generates benchmark results that show how well those activities and behaviors line up with what research shows are educational best practices that are likely to lead to more and deeper learning. The higher a school's scores on the five broad areas—featured on the accompanying pages—the better the chance, according to NSSE, that its students are learning and getting the most out of their university experience.

The NSSE was developed a decade ago by a group of American education professors, in part as an alternative to university rankings that are those published by U.S. News & World Report (and Maclean's). NSSE's creators believed that a student survey of undergrads as quality might be able to provide a more accurate, students and the wider public with essential information about each university. "An extensive research literature relates participation in extracurricular activities and specific fac-

## STUDENT SURVEYS: WHAT THEY ARE, HOW THEY WERE DONE

The accompanying pages contain the results from two major student surveys: the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and the Canadian University Survey Consortium (CUSC). The NSSE and CUSC, which were commissioned by the universities themselves, ask more than 150 questions about the undergraduate experience—inside the classroom and beyond. The answers help each university assess the quality of its programs and services. The surveys can also be shared by the public to do the same.

The U.S.-based NSSE began in 1999 and is directed by First and Second Year students. NSSE is not primarily a student satisfaction survey, but rather a study of broad educational practices—designed to assess the quality of learning—and an assessment of the degree to which each university follows those best practices. In 2004, 11 Canadian universities participated for the first time in NSSE, with more than 14,000 students completing the survey. Participation has grown considerably since then: more than 700,000 American students took part in the 2008 NSSE; they were joined by 47 Canadian institutions, where 78,289 undergrads filled out the survey.

The NSSE results are headlined by the *Readings the Results* section, which includes a chart of the top 10 institutions, including affiliates and second campuses, that took part in the NSSE survey as well as 21 campuses surveyed for the 2008 CUSC. In each chart, universities are listed in descending order. When displaying NSSE benchmark results, universities are listed according to their university's benchmark scores. For student satisfaction questions, order was determined by the percentage of survey participants who chose the highest level of satisfaction, for example, "excellent."

NSSE and CUSC include more than 150 questions. We have published results—the five NSSE benchmarks, plus two satisfaction questions each from NSSE and CUSC—that are the most broad and summative of the student experience. The NSSE charts include 41 universities that took part in the 2008 NSSE. 11 universities that took part in 2006 or 2007 and one university that participated that conducted the survey in 2008. The 2008 NSSE survey year. No foreign student data is displayed for Royal Roads University; it does not offer first-year courses. Data for the University of Western Ontario does not include three Western affiliates; their results are displayed separately. St. Francis Xavier University conducted a re-administration of the NSSE, which did not allow for the generation of benchmark results. Its NSSE student satisfaction results are, however, on pages 39 and 40.

You can find more CUSC questions online, along with other background years of the NSSE and NSSE. Please visit [www.nse.ca/en/eng](http://www.nse.ca/en/eng) and click on "Readings."

*Readings of Effective Educational Practices* (NSSE) and *Readings of Effective Educational Practices* (CUSC)—American and Canadian—on five key areas: Level of Academic Challenge, Student Faculty Interaction, Active and Collaborative Learning, Emerging Educational Experiences, and Supportive Campus Environment. Each school's benchmark result was calculated by NSSE, based on student responses to a variety of questions. NSSE also asked two important student satisfaction questions: school-by-school results appear on the following pages.

CUSC was created in 1994; it is a Canada-only survey. In 2008, NSSE is a large part about student satisfaction. In 2008, 37 institutions took part, including two universities—UBC and the University of New Brunswick—that surveyed multiple campuses. Surveys were sent to a random sample of approximately 1,000 undergraduate students at each university. Most tables will show less than 1,000 undergrads surveyed the entire cohort. Nearly 12,000 students responded.

Two CUSC student satisfaction questions are featured here: the results of seven other CUSC satisfaction questions, visit [www.nse.ca/en/eng](http://www.nse.ca/en/eng) and click "Readings."

## READING THE RESULTS

The charts on the following pages list 55 institutions, including affiliates and second campuses, that took part in the NSSE survey as well as 21 campuses surveyed for the 2008 CUSC. In each chart, universities are listed in descending order. When displaying NSSE benchmark results, universities are listed according to their university's benchmark scores. For student satisfaction questions, order was determined by the percentage of survey participants who chose the highest level of satisfaction, for example, "excellent."

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ulty and peer practices to help Canada undergrad students experience "more NSSE's creators. The survey aimed to measure and promote the use of those best practices.

In 2004, Canada's seven largest NSSE institutions, 11 institutions took part. By last year, the number of Canadian universities had more than quadrupled—largely because of Rob Carr's 2005 report on post-secondary education in the province. The former Ontario premier recommended that all Ontario universities administer the NSSE every two years. The survey, said Carr, "has already shown its effectiveness in contribut-

ing to the understanding of a core objective, namely student learning experience." Taking part in NSSE would "provide feedback on an area of real importance, so that institutions can start planning to make improvements based on evidence." Universities in the rest of the country followed Ontario's lead; most Canadian universities now administer the NSSE on their campus every year or every other year. Comparisons can be made among institutions; and, since NSSE's methodology is stable from year to year, progress can be measured at each university.

To give Canadians access to these insid-

ing-by-such-on-our-own-educational-quality, Maclean's in 2006 began asking universities to make their NSSE results public. Many universities were receptive but some were usually resistant, and that year Maclean's was forced to file a number of requests under provincial freedom of information laws. Since then, however, the idea has proven that these surveys are an important public resource: all universities in whose 2008 NSSE results are requested made them available to us.

Each of the thousands of students can read for the NSSE answered dozens of questions. NSSE then groups responses into its five NSSE benchmarks of Effective Educational Practices. These results appear on pages 34 to 37. Level of academic challenge faced by students; amount of active and collaborative learning; quality of student-faculty interaction; availability of or richness of educational experiences; and supportiveness of the campus environment.

On the accompanying pages, results are also presented for two questions from the Canadian University Survey Consortium, or CUSC. This is a Canada-only survey that focuses on student satisfaction, as a survey of student satisfaction, it makes a local comparison and contrast to the NSSE. In 2008, CUSC surveyed undergraduates on 31 questions. The answers to two key CUSC student satisfaction questions are featured on pages 38 and 39. The NSSE also includes two student satisfaction questions; the results appear on page 39 and 40. On our website, you can also find results for seven additional CUSC student satisfaction questions, as well as NSSE and CUSC surveys from previous years. Go to [www.nse.ca/en/eng](http://www.nse.ca/en/eng) and click on "Readings."

In NSSE's first year in Canada, the Canadian university survey offered a surprise: benchmark scores that were often below the American NSSE average. All Canadian universities scored below the NSSE benchmark average on student-faculty interaction, for example. Nearly all below the U.S. peers on active and collaborative learning and teaching educational experience.

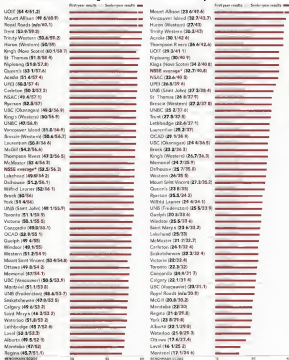
Officials predicted it would take at least one, or two, more administrations of NSSE to see improvements. In the interim, many officials have devoted significant time and energy to enhancing the undergraduate experience. Are they making progress?

Yes, some. But one tendency remains unchanged: smaller universities significantly outperformed larger universities. In 2008, only four of Canada's large research universities—Queen's, McGill and McMaster—appeared among the top 10 in teaching educational experience, and only Queen's made the top 30 in level of academic challenge. No larger universities made the top 30 in active and

## How do Canadian universities compare?

The National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) is a student survey comparing hundreds of universities—American and Canadian—in five key areas. The Level of Academic Challenge benchmark assesses the intellectual demands placed on undergraduate students, measuring such things as the number of assigned readings and written reports, as well as coursework emphasizing judgment. Student-Faculty Interaction gauges how often students meet with faculty or work with them on research projects or other activities outside of class.

### Level of Academic Challenge



\*NSSE average and 2006 average score for 187 Canadian and U.S. universities. Royal Roads does not have enough data to be included. See "Ranking the Results" page 33.

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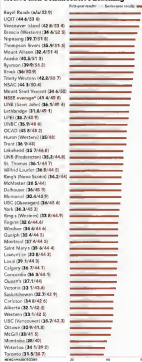
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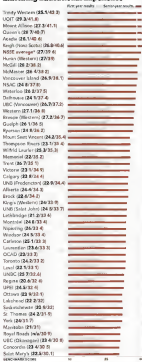
## Does the university follow best practices?

The NSSE survey's Active and Collaborative Learning benchmark assesses involvement and teamwork. Instructing students such things as how often they worked with classmates, made class presentations, or participated in community projects. Enriching Educational Experiences benchmark diversity and complementary learning opportunities that enhance academic programs. This includes internships and co-op, community service, study abroad, and a campus environment that promotes contact among students from different backgrounds.

### Active and Collaborative Learning



### Enriching Educational Experience

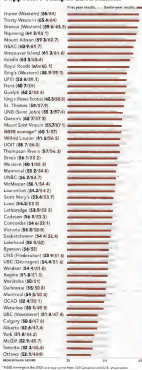


\*NSSE average for the 2005 survey cycle from 100 Canadian universities. See "Ranking the Results," page 33.

## Does the campus foster student success?

This National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) benchmark measures the extent to which each university supports academic and non-academic endeavors, and cultivates positive relationships among students, faculty and staff.

### Supportive Campus Environment



\*NSSE average for the 2005 survey cycle from 100 Canadian universities. See "Ranking the Results," page 33.



OVER THE last two years, NSSE scores have risen at some large research universities such as Western, above, and UBC, below.





The majority of Canadian university students say that they would return to the university they currently attend. However, their level of agreement declines as they move through their academic careers: new students are more satisfied than those about to graduate.

If you could start over, would you go to the institution you are now attending?

If you could start over, would you go to the institution you are now attending?



\*Weight savings in the 2018 average comes by 70% Canadian and U.S. governments. Note: Global Road shows not have that same change. See "Building the Road" page 12.

Source: *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, not dated, 1940s. Originals held by the Gerald R. Ford Library, 700 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605. Source: *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, not dated, 1940s. Originals held by the Gerald R. Ford Library, 700 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605.

20. *Journal Name* is a peer-reviewed journal published by the American Chemical Society. [View Article Online](#) DOI: 10.1039/C9XX00000X



**SMALL UNIVERSITIES** like Mount Allison (above) are still tops on both NSSE and QACS

the amount of help available for first-year math students. Another school has created learning support groups for several types of at-risk students. Other projects included interventions aimed at improving writing skills, programs to enhance science literacy in first year, and enhancements to student advising. Will these initiatives improve outcomes—grades, graduation rates, dropout rates, and so on? Will they raise NSSE scores? There are no instant answers. Many authors warn that work that in NSSE 2008 won't

repeating the exercise until you

Meanwhile, back in Calgary, Martin's experience as a contributor will be particularly valuable to her as she goes through her coursework with the university community. Most Canadian university students live off-campus, and the realities of commuting make them a po-

macleanz.ca/oncampus

or more questions from the Locus survey or university students, and to compare this year's HSGE and CUSC results to previous years, visit [maricopa.ca/encompass](http://maricopa.ca/encompass) and click on "Rankings." You can also find college student surveys, based on the opinions of more than 150,000 Canadian college students and recent grads. Go to [maricopa.ca/encompass](http://maricopa.ca/encompass) and click on "Colleges."

icantly difficult group to engage. That's part of the reason why the top performers on the MSST are not big, urban, research-intensive universities populated by commuter students but small, undergraduate-focused, "destination" universities whose students live on campus. But if Calpoly and other big schools are going to improve their benchmark scores, they have to, among other things, connect with commuters, duplicating Marist's enthusiasm for her studies.

"There are so many things that interest me about the project," says Martin. The most important, she says, is "the fact that the administration has chosen to move forward and do something about our NISSE results and that they've chosen to hire students to be involved in the process."

"As a commuter student it's very easy to feel disconnected and isolated from the campus, but work like this is what makes me feel as if I am a member of some type of community at U of C." It's a sentiment that Calgary, like most Canadian universities, would like to see more of. ■

Want to see more student survey results? For more statistics from the CU-SC survey of 1,000 CU-SC students, go to [www.cu-sc.ca/eng/1000survey/1000survey.htm](http://www.cu-sc.ca/eng/1000survey/1000survey.htm). You can also find college student 50,000 Canadian college student's and recent grads on "Colleges".

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AP OFFERS high schoolers a rigorous curriculum, standardized tests—and university credits

## University courses, in your high school

**Advanced Placement is catching on with smart kids and ambitious parents**

**BY KAREN PICHON** • Before she'd set foot on campus, Jacqueline Delaney already had two university courses under her belt. Like most students at her Williamstown, Mass., high school, she didn't think twice about taking her school's Advanced Placement course in European history. Delaney loved the subject, so when it was offered in Grade 12, she enrolled. But when she moved to Canada to study geology at Queen's College University, the entrance course heaped her in work she'd never anticipated. "Advanced Placement classes saved my life," says Delaney. "But in high school, I didn't have any concept of how they would help me later on."

Advanced Placement courses, or AP, allow students to do university-level work while still in high school. The program has long been popular with American students and parents—and the trend is catching on in Canada. Participating high schools offer the courses as part of the regular curriculum, with the program generally open to only the most capable students. Courses are capped by a standardized, year-end exam, administered by the New York-based College Board, which oversees AP Exam results, on a five-point scale, are often used by colleges and

universities in the U.S. and Britain to make admissions decisions: the AP credential is seen as proof that you are a superior student. What's more, AP courses can earn students university-level credits, reducing the number of classes needed to complete a degree.

Now a master's student in geological sciences at the University of British Columbia, Delaney was surprised when Carleton recognized her AP course in European history. The school gave her two university transfer credits, which meant that for two semesters, she took four classes instead of five. "I don't

**MORE THAN ONE IN 10 APPLICANTS TO UBC ARE TAKING AP—AND THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE ADMITTED**

care what discipline you're in. Having another two fewer classes in a semester can make a really huge difference," she says.

Delaney isn't the only one seeing the program's perks. Over the last two decades, the number of Canadian high schools offering AP has ballooned from nine to 510. Last year, nearly 14,000 Canadian students were enrolled, writing more than 10,000 AP exams. Enrollment is especially strong in British Columbia and Alberta, as provincial ministries and high schools jump on the program, hoping it will give their students an edge.

George Brown, director of Advanced Placement in Canada, says he is amazed

at anyone who describes the "seniority" growth of the program. The College Board offers 34 AP subjects, from the most popular—calculus, English, and literature—to the slightly more obscure, such as ancient classical studies, human geography and studio art. (See the complete list at [APsubjects.org](http://APsubjects.org).) More than 4,000 colleges and universities around the world recognize all or some AP credits as equivalent to first-year-level class, though whether and when a university will give a transfer credit varies. The most popular Canadian destination for AP students is the University of British Columbia, not surprising given B.C.'s lead in AP enrollment. Last year, more than one in 10 UBC applicants was an AP student—but nearly 20 per cent of regular applicants advanced to their first choice of program were AP kids. Other universities also recruit AP students: the University of Alberta offers evening education courses and specialized counselling in addition to transfer credits.

"It's really well rounded education," says Brian Hinkley, manager of national recruitment at the U of A. "When you're looking at the learning style of the AP program, and the skills students develop, it translates very well into success at the university level."

The College Board says its research shows AP students are more likely than other students to graduate from university with a flexible major, and are twice as likely to pursue a Ph.D. or studies in medicine or law. Its former teacher Terry Godwilt, who coordinates the AP program at Edmonton's Queen Elizabeth High School of Advanced Placement, the greatest rewards come right at the start of students' post-secondary careers.

"I definitely believe AP students have an advantage," he says. "When they get to university, it means they've already studied at that level." Godwilt sees AP enrollment at Queen Elizabeth has doubled every year for the past three years, and now covers eight subjects with 120 students.

However, he says the high-achieving nature of the program also means teachers need to keep a closer eye on students to make sure they aren't falling behind. "It is an extremely workload, and the kids are doing an extra year's worth of work over three years," says Godwilt. "At the same time, it's incredible what our kids can do when we provide them with the opportunity."

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# What I learned in first year

**Be extra nice to your TAs, ditch the bulky book bag and never sit next to the Reciter**

**BY SCOTT DOBSON-MITCHELL** • If I could travel back in time to my first university days, my back in August, there were many things I would share with myself. Like, "Physics 101 final exam. Don't bother studying rocket propulsion." But if I could only tell myself 10 things.

(1) **University is nothing to be afraid of.** My first month of summer vacation was spent worrying. Worrying that university courses would be impossibly difficult, worrying that I wouldn't be able to keep up with the readings, worrying that I'd be lonely and alone to die for. What I didn't know is that in university, you're given every opportunity to succeed. All of my science courses have an online component, constantly updated with recommended readings, practice questions, and multiple-choice. My religious studies course has a site minute summary every week, giving students a chance to ask questions or make comments or suggestions.

(2) **TAs—the unknown variable.** Before my first semester, I didn't know what a huge impact TA-teaching assistance can have. Turns out they aren't just disposable crew members. In addition to leading tutorials (which in some courses count for a large part of your mark), the other mark exams, assignments and essays. So even after you've checked out [www.professors.com](http://www.professors.com) and gawked at the other side of a prof, there's still a huge unknown TA.

(3) **Sleeplessness.** There were 600 students in the class. The lecture hall was warm. The lights were dimmed. My chemistry prof's bench accent was practically a lullaby. Even if I hadn't been up past three in the morning, I'd probably still have fallen into a coma. Eyes closed, with a puddle of drool forming on your nose, doesn't exactly help you get the most out of a lecture.

(4) **Get to class early.** ...My biggest day in high school had 30 students. My smallest class in university has 200. The lecture hall has more than enough seats. But get there after the first five minutes and you lose the luxury of a right-handed fold-out table.

(5) **...and sit in the front row.** I've usually arrived somewhere in the front row, where you

don't exactly record every professional voice, unless coding notes on the spot. But one day I arrived late, and found myself among the inhabitants of the Back of the Lecture Hall. The Tera players and not messengers aren't much of a surprise. But being surrounded by half-whispered conversations means you're trying to follow the professor's



## YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR PARENTS WILL CHANGE. HOW'S SCHOOL GOING? ONLY YOU KNOW.

lectures, while simultaneously listening to the guy two seats over who is going on about how he totally, like totally, isn't even special in the tech book yet. And someone in the next row is eating a sandwich that smells like airport.

(6) **You're richer than you think.** Those first weeks in Grade 12? Yeah, they count. For entrance scholarships at Waterloo, for example, the difference between an 89 per cent and a 90 per cent is \$1,000. The difference between a 94 per cent and a 95 per cent can be up to \$3,000. There are some

merit-based awards, ones of other scholarships, and approximately five trillion different bursaries. Make sure you take advantage of every available dollar.

(7) **Choose your exam neighbours wisely.** Five minutes before the top of the hour, the Prof Exam Results start. Before my first chemistry exam, the girl beside me kept absently wiping the surface of her desk. The guy in front was arranging pencils in rows of decreasing diameter. Another was surgically removing the label from his water bottle and then grinding it into tiny pieces. And then there is the Reciter, summarizing the entire course book in one horrible sentence, right before the exam starts. Every term, definition and equation the Reciter says, I can feel looking back on my hand.

(8) **Your relationship with your parents will change.** No one will call home if you're failing. No one will call home if you don't show up for class. There isn't a night or mid-October when you'll find yourself lying between your parents and your teacher, pretending not to notice that they're talking about your first version of how school is going is the only version your parents will hear.

(9) **Messenger bags are the way to go.** It's the lodge of all first-year students: a bag, bulky book bag. It took me two weeks to discover the alternative: the simple, compact beauty of the messenger bag. Unlike high school, you won't have to lug your four-inch thick biology text book all across campus. All you need are a couple of notebooks and a pencil.

(10) **Stay on top of readings.** Every year, millions of people collectively lecture me university students. And millions of pre-university students collectively roll their eyes. You just don't believe it can happen to you. Until it's 2:00 in the morning, seven hours before a mid-term, and you still have to regurgitate chapters of that archaeology textbook. ■

**SCOTT DOBSON-MITCHELL** is in his first year at Waterloo. He writes "The Freshman" blog at [www.dms.ca/freshman](http://www.dms.ca/freshman).

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JOHN LOPPINOW: The chemist's latest experiment is a new, multi-disciplinary science course taught by profs from eight different disciplines

# The 3M Awards: our best teachers

These 10 professors are leading the way, challenging their students—and putting teaching back at the centre of the university

**BY NICHOLAS KÖRNER, SUSAN DONAHUE, MAD AND RACHEL HENDERSON •** Baljit Singh, a professor of anatomy at the University of Saskatchewan's Western College of Veterinary Medicine, laughs about it now—but during his first year as a veterinary student, he failed the very course he now teaches. "I always tell my students," says Singh. "I use it as a very experiential example. Lay, 'Look, this is what happened to me in my first year. And I ended up teaching anatomy!'"

Singh, the one-time academic banger, has since gone on to become numerous academic deans, and is one of 10 professors

named this year to the 3M National Teaching Fellowship. The award was established 34 years ago by 3M Canada in collaboration with the Society of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education. Madach's has been the award's media partner since 2006.

These new fellows join an elite club that now includes 238 professors. To win, it's not enough to be merely a great teacher. "We're looking for personalities, for people who are authentic, who are passionate—and Baljit is a great example," says program coordinator Ashraf Ahmad, a University of Alberta professor and a 3M fellow himself.

Singh attributes his pedagogical success to the teachers in his own life. "They have built a fire in my mind," says Singh. "This is the power of a teacher—once you are looked up with an outstanding teacher, half the battles are won."

The 3M National Teaching Fellowship rewards great teaching, and the teaching rewards require no other innovation with the broader educational community. Fellows are regularly brought together to exchange ideas, making the club an incubator for new teaching techniques. In June, they will gather in Philadelphia; in November, they will convene at the Fairmont Le Château Montebello in Quebec. "We bring these people together so get to know each other as teachers and learn from each other," says Ahmad. "There they are using their dis-

ting edge staff and sharing it, mentoring others to follow in their footsteps." There are a few that will be among them.

## Glen Loppinow, Department of Chemistry, University of Alberta

"This is the center from thousands of fireflies," jokes Loppinow. Before a class of first-year science students, Loppinow poses a beaker of bleach into a bottle containing the chemical limonene. The result, known as chemiluminescence—what a firefly does inside its glowing tail—transforms his students. "No fireflies were harmed in this experiment," Loppinow promises, before explaining how the energy of the chemical reaction has been converted into the blue, ethereal light. This illuminating glow is a daily metaphor for Loppinow's brand of teaching excellence.

Loppinow admits he wasn't always a great teacher. And you caught one of his lectures a decade ago, he says, "you would have seen somebody where the students considered evidence and groups." It was rapidly going, a really bad experience. "Caught up in the importance of research, Loppinow realized he was neglecting his real passion. "I was really enjoying my own life," he says. "I really wanted to be a teacher."

As a kid growing up in a tough neighborhood in New Mexico, university didn't appear to be in the cards for Loppinow. No one in his family had gone beyond Grade 12. But a high school English teacher, Susan Frye, who saw promise and encouraged him to apply to college. He got in, eventually doing graduate work at Berkeley and Princeton. Frye "changed my life," says Loppinow. "That's really the intention from my being a teacher—driving it to what I thought I was going to be—to be a professor."

After the death of his father, Loppinow took an introspective sabbatical and realized what he needed to do to change his life—concentrate on teaching as much as on research. "I wanted to change students' lives the way that my life had changed."

He chose that with a vengeance. Loppinow is helping pioneer Science 106, a holistic

approach to teaching undergraduate students the U of A is introducing this year, putting eight professors from eight different disciplines—mathematics, physics, psychology, and so on—together in one class. As one instructor leads, the others sit at a long table (they've dubbed it "the peanut gallery"), raising questions and insights.

"They draw connections between the sciences," says 18-year-old student Lindsey Hodge. This combination of disciplines is designed to produce a kind of chemiluminescence of the mind—the glow of learning from combining different ways of thinking. "It's really not to use a concept approached from all sides," says Kasper Bejczyński, also

studying with them. He's the first of nearly 200 students in the University of Saskatchewan program designed to bolster modern chemistry by asking a professor to make his home inside an undergraduate student residence.

Approachability and empathy are the hallmarks of his teaching. "If you were frustrated, you could talk to him," says Sharada Mahajan, a former student who now practices emergency veterinary medicine in Vancouver. "That's not something you could do with a lot of professors." Indeed, Singh, who prides himself on returning Aboriginal students to his research lab, is most passionate when scolding the students who have made with university due to his counsel. "These

are the people who were just one step away from leaving," he says. "Some of them have done their master's degrees now, a couple are in Ph.D. programs, a couple have finished their M.D. programs."

That students might copy from him is one of the few academic difficulties Singh, a former president of the American Association of Veterinary Anatomists, flunked anatomy at Punjab Agricultural University because "I did not like it—I did not like the subject. I did not like the way it was being taught." He's a "real" university, says "very rigorous," he

says. "I was the most happy when I was learning on my own by doing things." Such experiences connected him to underrepresented and best when they are actively engaged in the learning process. "Students have to become equal partners in designing a learning program," he argues.

It's a perspective he's demonstrated works in practice. A few years ago, Singh initiated an ongoing complaint among his first-year students they felt the basis of anatomy—cell, physiology and biochemistry, but not third year, they are frequently forced to study in the kinds of hands-on learning that would

## ONCE YOU ARE HOOKED UP WITH AN OUTSTANDING TEACHER, HALF THE BATTLES ARE WON



SARAH KEEFER Making Old English literature come alive

35. It's a style of learning that's only going to become more in demand, says Loppinow. "The way that science is moving is that the important questions for understanding how the world works occur at the interface between these different disciplines," he says. "We really needed a way of getting students to have that broad-based exposure."

## Baljit Singh, Western College of Veterinary Medicine, University of Saskatchewan

Now committed to Singh's lab, he's made it the past eight years, he and his family have

## THIS YEAR'S BEST

IN 1986, to recognize the importance of university teaching, the Society for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education and 3M Canada created the 3M Teaching Fellowships. Up to 10 university faculty members are recognized each year for their exceptional contributions to teaching and learning. Since 2006, Maclean's has proudly been the program's media sponsor.



This year's 3M Teaching Fellows, from left to right: David Barnett, Department of Drama, University of Alberta; Mike Reid, DeGroote School of Business, McMaster University; Ken Cronin, Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario; Carrie Eyles, School of Geography and Earth Sciences, McMaster University



3M Teaching Fellows (continued), left to right: Sarah Keefer, Department of English Literature, Trent University; Glen Loppinow, Department of Chemistry, University of Alberta; Sylvia Rebert, Department of Chemistry and Biology, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières; Hannah Roumen, Department of Computer Science and Engineering, York University; Baljit Singh, Western College of Veterinary Medicine, University of Saskatchewan; John Snod, Department of Biology, Queen's University

help them make sense of the book learning Singh's response? He created a clinical role-playing game not unlike an episode of TV's *House*. Students receive a case history detailing the health results of an animal. Working in a group, the students discuss the data until they arrive at a conclusion as to what new information they require to reach a diagnosis—an MRI scan or blood report, say. The process continues, with more and more information doled out to the team according to the students' decisions. "This clinical scenario helps them to integrate the information and also relate it to a very specific example of a clinical abnormality," says Singh.

Almost more to prove than the teaching



**JOHN SMOL**, one of Canada's top scientific researchers is also one of our best teachers

method in the persistence with which Singh pursued his implementation. The course was out part of the curriculum when he began recruiting students and professors on a voluntary basis: no pay for the pros, no credit for the kids. It ran for five years before becoming a recognized course in 2007.

But Singh is unfailingly modest. "I wish I had three types of appendages," he says. "I'm sure I would have learned much more and become an even better student—and, later on, teacher." None of his teaching awards are displayed on his office walls. "I've done reasonably well in my life," he says. "But it's simply because I had outstanding teachers."

#### **John Smol, Department of Biology, Queen's University**

John Smol is lecturing to an overbooked fourth-year biology class. Dark bands of volcanic ash run through the majestic ice cliffs of Greenland, a prospect unseen by Smol, as students learn in the professor of biology and paleolimnology explain how changes in climate, pollution and sea-level dynamics over the past 300 years can be understood by studying ice taken from three

icecores below Greenland's crown

An internationally recognized paleo-ecologist, Smol's research into environmental changes has brought every accolade. He is a Canada Research Chair, has received six research awards and fellowships, and in 2001 was awarded the \$1.25 million Gerhard Herzberg Gold Medal for Science and Engineering, Canada's most prestigious science prize. He's known as one of the country's leading research scientists, but the Queen's professor

**'MY JOB ISN'T TO GET THEM AS FAR AS THEY THINK THEY CAN GO, BUT AS FAR AS THEY REALLY CAN GO'**

is now being recognized as one of Canada's greatest teachers, too.

Sharing his research discoveries with students is a natural fit for Smol, who has been doing it for the last 30 years. He studies the evolution of lakes with the same care that he brings to managing his students, some of whom have gone on to become professors, Canada Research Chairs and academic deans. "He's very engaging and really passionate about what he teaches," says Susan Ma, 21, a fourth-year biology major. "It makes us students more interested since sometimes you have professors who are just lecturing."

Smol, who has sponsored more than 60 undergrad thesis students, says he gets sick out of watching things "click" with students. "The whole goal of a professor is to try to tap whatever potential a student has," says Smol. "My job is not to get them as far as they think they can go but as far as they can really go." Good teachers, he says, are the ones who maintain passion for their chosen field. He remains excited by his own job and uses it as a model because he never wanes on wondering whether what he does is important. "For a democracy to function correctly we need an

educated and engaged citizenry," he says. "I know climate change is important. This is our planet, why are we screwing it up?"

#### **Sarah Keefe, Department of English, Trent University**

It's been 15 years since Sarah Keefe first set foot in an Old English class as a master's student at the University of Toronto. And as the self-declared "biblical nut" explains how she let it happen when she heard the language of pre-11th-century England, there's a usefulness in the anecdote she spreads across her face. "It was twofold come," she says. "I thought, 'Oh my God, I've come home.'"

Sell someone with the excessive allusion to poems like "Duncan the Hood" and "The Wanderer," Keefe endorses to cause the curiosity of her students at Trent University, who wonder, "what could possibly motivate anyone to this degree?" she says. To Keefe, Old English isn't just a language; it's a culture. Her goal, she says, "is to have them, for a split second, look at [the text] through the eyes of the person that wrote it." When she introduces the literature of the pre-industrial world, she passes around a modern replica of the vellum that was used to make books in Anglo-Saxon times. As the students run their fingers over the carbon parchment, distinguishing the hair side from the flesh side, "They suddenly drink, 'Wow. We're not talking about English here,'" she says.

Her enthusiasm is contagious. As a group of upper-year students translate a passage from *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* in a recent semester, they pause how "cool" it is that a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon saint was able to leave off the advances of a powerful male mentor, and debate the details of the monastic life he led, including the starvation of the wool she wore next to her skin and what drove her to starvation. Though they sometimes stumble over foreign-sounding Old English phrases, Keefe hangs on their every word, offering more than just the occasional "Very Good!" "Terrific!" and "Go with it!"

Third-year student Gwyneth Johnson says this kind of encouragement makes Keefe's class a place where "you're never going to be worried about mispronouncing words." Her desire to provide the historical and cultural context for the literature attracts students from a range of disciplines, says Johnson, who is majoring in women's studies. "Professor Keefe has really picked up on where every one's area of expertise lies and draws them into the conversation at appropriate places," he says. According to Keefe, there's simply no other way to teach. "They're people," she says, "so we're learning together." ■

## Erin and Mike in the morning.

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# BRAIN REWIRING

Using magnetic fields to treat depression is gaining favour

BY ALEXANDRA SHIMO • Long broken a spousal, pleasure addict, Barbara Kowarski and Mental Health (CAMH) for 20 minutes sessions of rTMS. Twice a week, she sits in the big area chair. Next to the chair's base is a black wire coil shaped like a figure-eight. A nurse holds the coil to the top of Kowarski's head, just above the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex—an area of the brain responsible for planning and organization. When a current goes through the wire, it sets up a

sleep 11 for 20 hours per day. She tried every "treatment" under the sun. "Suicide was never far from her mind, and she would probably have gone through with it, she says, but for her daughter.

For the past two years, Kowarski has come to the Toronto-based Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH) for 20-minute sessions of rTMS. Twice a week, she sits in the big area chair. Next to the chair's base is a black wire coil shaped like a figure-eight. A nurse holds the coil to the top of Kowarski's head, just above the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex—an area of the brain responsible for planning and organization. When a current goes through the wire, it sets up a

In the public system, rTMS is available in Toronto, Hamilton, Vancouver and Red Deer, but growing demand means the queues can be long. For example, at Toronto's CAMH, the wait is one year. The MindCare Centre, which is Canada's only private rTMS program, with clinics in Vancouver, Toronto and Ottawa. A Montreal clinic opened just last week, and there's one more slated for Toronto. The cost is \$5,000 to \$7,500 for a course of treatment that lasts two to three weeks. The fee can be covered under insurance, although it's decided on a case-by-case basis. MindCare also provides group treatments, setting the frequency above what has been used in the research studies, and they report a higher recurrence, with about 50 per cent of patients improving.

Every four months Bill Neill, 51, who lives in Oakville, a suburb of Winnipeg, flies to Vancouver for a week of rTMS treatment at a MindCare Centre, which costs about \$4,400 per year, including flights and hotels. Neill's

THE TREATMENT MAKES A CLUCKING NOISE THAT'S LIKE A WOODPECKER TAPPING



BARBARA KOWARSKI, CAMH, undergoes rTMS to treat her depression. Photo by JEFFREY M. HARRIS

doctors suggested he try rTMS because none of the anti-depressants eliminated his seasonal depression that was so serious that he used to take a leave from his job with Maclean's for a few months every year, and spend his days curled up in a ball, crying. He will probably need ongoing therapy for the rest of his life, he says. "The cost is a stretch,"

says the father of three. "But it means I no longer live my life on a roller coaster." For Kowarski, the therapy has boosted her confidence and given her a renewed sense of purpose. Her weight has risen by 300 lb, and she has started to exercise again. Although there aren't any studies on how the therapy will affect her long-term health, she doesn't care. "If my brain were to jelly in 20 years," she says proudly in jest, "at least I will have had all those good years." ■

**TONICS**

**YOU WERE GOING TO EAT LESS, REMEMBER?**

Seniors can markedly improve their memory simply by eating less. Diets low in calories, found in a study of overweight but not obese people with an average age of 60 that the subjects could remember more words they were asked to memorize when their calorie intake was reduced by 30 per cent. Scientists believe that lower levels of glucose and insulin are linked to higher neural functions such as memory.

# SOMETHING FISHY IN B.C.

## The latest foe in the war over salmon farms? Rapacious Norwegians.

BY HARRY MACDONALD • Last summer, Norway's richest man, John Fredriksen, was fishing on Norway's legendary Alta, one of the world's richest salmon rivers. Fredriksen made his first fortune mowing oil tankers to Iran during the Iran-Iraq war.

He is now the silver-haired prince/shareholder of Marine Harvest, which controls 10 to 10 per cent of the worldwide salmon farming industry. And as a result, he led the charge who was along on the trip because "I'm concerned about the future of wild salmon," and that fish farmers shouldn't be allowed near wild salmon rivers because of the pollution and disease they spread in the open ocean.

What's bad for Norway may be just fine for B.C., however, where Marine Harvest and two other Norwegian firms control 92 per cent of the \$135-million salmon farming industry. Many of the farms are situated on the middle of the wild salmon river, including the Fraser River run, which, this fall, recorded a 60 per cent decline in returning fish. Over the coming decade, the farms are projected to double production in B.C. Farms are desired for Oslo.

The problems, however, are all too local. Last year, the journal *Science* sparked international headlines when it reported the partial cessation of pink salmon by 2012 in B.C.'s Broughton Archipelago, one of the richest grounds of biodiversity on the B.C. coast. This fall, the number of pink salmon spawning in five key tributary streams in the Broughton, where the bulk of those farms are, dropped as much as 90 per cent compared to 2004, down to 147,000 fish. That sudden, stunning collapse is triggering the debate about near salmon farms. Last month, the Swiss-based International Union for the Conservation of Nature placed Pacific salmon on its list of threatened species, naming B.C.'s as the "most endangered."

The Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), the federal agency charged with protecting Canada's ocean resources, says it is premature to blame the farms for declines

in salmon runs seen recently, because those numbers fluctuate naturally. But that's not a new show by a growing chorus of scientists and environmental groups. Even Alaska, the "drill, baby, drill" state, continues its trail here as a salmon farm, which it considers a threat to Pacific salmon. Farmers have long played with B.C., with whom it shares an wild salmon stock, to reverse course on farming. Indeed, scientists say B.C. is making a natural resource for Norway's benefit.

## EVEN ALASKA, THE "DRILL, BABY, DRILL" STATE, BEGGED B.C. TO REVERSE COURSE



A SALMON FARM in the Broughton Islands: Norway controls 92 per cent of B.C.'s industry.

Canada was wanted. In 1995, as Marine Harvest and other Norwegian companies began floating tightening regulations here, Norwegian MP John Lilloen said a Canadian parliamentary subcommittee that the fish farmers were heading our way. "We are very concerned about the quality and the environmental questions," he said. "Therefore, some of the fish farmers told, 'We want bigger fish farms, we want to do it like here.'"

They arrived in B.C. economically fragile,

marital commitments in great numbers in the 1980s. In those recessionary days, there were over 190 operators. But profits flooded the global market, and smaller operators were bankrupted or swallowed whole by bigger firms. Now Canada has no major competitors. Two years ago, Toronto-based food giant George Weston Ltd., which owns Loblaw's, added B.C. salmon processors after posting losses of \$175 million. A year ago, Target Marine, the last major Canadian firm still

where they don't have a lot else to choose from," points out Chris Buckman, director of environmental sciences at Marine Harvest. But as aquaculture becomes increasingly more viable, the number of jobs is expected to fall. The industry's employment is now between 2,000 and 3,000, for example, but jobs grow by less than 10 per cent. Farms have also made salmon affordable. "Look, there's not enough wild salmon to feed global demand. That's the plain and simple truth," says Buckman. As for charges the company is devastating wild salmon stocks, spokesman Jan Roberts says overfishing, climate change and habitat destruction do more to threaten Pacific salmon.

Once upon a time, there was better oversight, says Otto Langer, a former DFO biologist. After after budget cuts and downsizing in the late '90s, the DFO began depending on industry for self-surveillance and compliance—a "reliance approach" that he says "negated the protection of the chicken coop in the wolf." He says the department has abdicated its legal responsibility to protect wild fish. The "DFO was hopeless, they just weren't going to do their job anymore, so I quit. I reached a point when wasn't everything."

Part of the problem is a philosophical one, he says. Local scientists agree. In 1995, the fish agreed an M.O.U. allowing B.C. to oversee fish farming. "When scientists write to the DFO to voice concerns about escapes or disease transfer in the ocean, they're told, 'It's the provincial government raising the farmer, talk to them,'" says Alconfort Morton, a marine biologist based in the Broughton Archipelago, who's been a DFO biologist since 1986. But the provincial government is responsible for the environment beyond the pen, she says. The ocean and its wild salmon are the jurisdiction of the fish.

Fish farming is killing off wild salmon, says Morton, and it's even saving B.C.'s largest coastal communities, as it's been to B.C. The June 2004 of the B.C. coast, Morton arrived in the Broughton Archipelago in 1986 after departing from L.A. She and her husband, the late wildlife filmmaker Robin Morton, were looking for a spot where they could study ovens. "We followed a whale while it swam through," she says. "And there we were. Echo Bay is land without a school and a post office that get mail by airplane three times a week. We tied up the boat, and it's been home ever since." Echo Bay is the biggest salmon farming community on the B.C. coast but its population has declined to 11, down from 50 a decade ago. Last year, it lost its school. The fish farmers' groundhogs and several farms have been named—don't forget, they're here, says Morton. "The don't live here. They don't buy groceries," says Morton. "Salmon farming hasn't saved Echo Bay—my community is dying."

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WHAT? Would Audrey Hepburn skip Pigeon Island, doesn't have to meet instant noodles.

## EATING WELL ON \$50 A WEEK

### A couple who spend \$300 a week on food decide to economize

BY CHRIS JONES • The macaroni dish was the last straw. By the time the colorless, stringy up-all-the ingredients on the bill totalled \$40.32. For a dish that wasn't even the main event. My girlfriend and I are going on a diet. Not to lose weight, but to save money. Instead of the usual \$400-plus a week we spend we're limiting our budget to \$50 for the two of us for the entire week. We both love food too much to submit on a diet of instant noodles, however, so I'll have to settle of the country's best chef for a few hours of budget recipes.

Here are the ground rules. Tasty staples, flour, butter, oil, are fair game. Breakfast will consist of oatmeal (\$3.99/lb.) or toast

with honey. Lunch will be leftovers from the day before or canned tuna (\$0.99) sandwiches. I'll focus my energy on making healthy, delicious and affordable dinners.

Day 1: Peached Eggs with Sautéed Verde and Cayenne Shrimp. "The key is being a good shopper," chef Andrew Malone Allen of Zucco restaurant in Toronto tells me when I ask for his tips on getting through the week. "Watch for your biggest cost: my f'd start by seeing what's in your pantry." Taking his advice I dug up a silver potato from the back of the cupboard. This will become brownies. There are four eggs that I'll poach and I can make a sauce by blending up the onion and parsley in the blender with some oil and water. Gonna get it to 90 cents (one pound of oatmeal and a can of tuna for future use).

Day 2: Gravy Shrimp with Angelica and Tomato Fondue. Chef Jason Stubbs of Only on King, in London, Ont., suggested



**GROUNDHOG IGNORES SHADOW, SEES RED**  
New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg's recent photo opportunity posing with a groundhog on Feb. 2. So when Charles G. Hogg of Staten Island emerged, Bloomberg's red tie, Hogg responded by cheering down on Bloomberg's head. Afterwards the mayor speculated in a press conference that the groundhog could be a "terrorist rodent."

BY HARRY MACDONALD  
INVESTIGATION

this one. He asked me to "get some more daisies, they're a bag. Radica is a can of tomatoes (\$1.27) down with olive oil and chopped capers (\$4.99). Toss some bread (\$2.99) and rub it with garlic." Growing the garden was a sunny job, but they were excellent, subtle and delicious after being pan-fried skin side down until crispy. Grocery Bill \$10.95.



**'GET SOME SARDINES,' SUGGESTED THE CHEF I CONSULTED. 'THEY'RE FOUR DOLLARS A BAG.'**



Day 3: Navy Beans with Cumin and Chorizo. Went to the market to stock up on a few things including a couple of apples for tomorrow's oatmeal and a bottle of Arpeña beans wine (\$7.48) that we'll try to stretch over two days. I'm going to cook up a batch of navy beans and get some chickpeas soaking for tomorrow. The legumes cost less than a dollar a pound and one pound makes the equivalent of three cans. The ingredients in the market inspired this dinner. Looked off some collard greens (\$1.79) with onion and garlic and also in sausage (\$3.43) and mixed the beans as in the last minute. It worked out really well and I look forward to making it again. I've seen dishes like this in restaurants still far closer to \$20. Grocery Bill \$64.79.

Day 4: Mussels on Toast, Root Vegetable and Chickpea Salad. Nico Schraamers of Chamber restaurant in Vancouver came up with something I never would have thought of: "Cut up some root vegetables and roast them in the oven with a bunch of marrow bones," he said. "You can do the roasted vegetables in dinner and tomorrow roast the bones and leftover veg into a creamy soup." How cheap are marrow bones? When my girlfriend went to the butcher to get the marrow bones he gave me these when I told him that I was a vegetarian. The marrow bones were so good, I was so happy. We roasted the root vegetables with the chick-

peas into a hot salad and ate the marrow straight out of the bone on toast with salt. It was incredible. We've got piles of root veg which I left over, so, now Grocery Bill \$19.47.

Day 5: The Kindness of Others. There's still plenty of soup left, but I treat it as we record an invitation to a friend's birthday dinner. We brought the leftover root veg-



table and chickpea salad to share and some frozen in bits of wine.

Day 6: Mussels with Red Curry and Coconut Milk. Roger Mooking, the emcee of the Everyday Eater on the Food Network, came up with that bromance. "Mussels are cheap," he said, "and you don't have to get too fancy with them. Some stock, sherry, garlic, bay leaf or a lime leaf and you're good." Three pounds of mussels cost me \$15.10 and because I did want to get fancy with them I splurged on some chicken, shallots, coconut milk and a couple of hot peppers (\$12.61). I made a quick curry paste with the herbs, aromatics and peppers, and cooked that off before adding the coconut milk and the mussels. This dinner would be even more substantial with some rice, but it was completely filling and satisfying on its own. Grocery Bill \$29.95.

Day 7: Chickpea Stew with Prosciutto and Cabbage. This was cooked author and chef Kevin Karnath's inspired dinner.

suggestion. I told her there were still some chickpeas left over that I wanted to use up and right away she said, "I think chickpeas go with cabbage. You can get a prosciutto risotto, they're cheap, chop that up and cook everything down with some wine or stock, add a little tomato for contrast and there is the roasted bread in the end to thicken it up."



I brought home \$15.45, cabbage (\$4.79) and a prosciutto risotto (\$1.97). There was a little bit of beef stock left and the last of the carrots mixed and the whole thing was an ideal win-win dish. Grocery Bill \$31.11.

Total cost for the Week: \$49.79.

WHEN I ASKED my girlfriend what she wanted for dinner on day eight she said "Something expensive." While we certainly ate well over the past week, it required an awful lot of planning and we both realized the occasional lunch or dinner at a restaurant. It was super easy, though. Having those restaurants guide me didn't differ at all about the food I cook and even though we'll lose the money savings up after this we'll be more careful about what we buy and incorporate at least one budget meal into the plan each week. In this economic climate it's good to know that not eating cheaply can still mean eating well. ■

Chris Jones is writing a book of frugal recipes.

**YOU CAN'T PICK YOUR FAMILY**



**SHOCKER FINDS A GOOD REASON TO QUIT**  
Bill Linn, still an attorney in his 50s, is ending his career in a controversial way. He will leave with him to a small smoking cessation meeting in San Luis Obispo, Calif. But Linn's reason for quitting the cigarette is that he was smoking in his trailer home when that left. It's the time they got back the American Red Cross was offering them a place to stay for awhile. Bill says insurance will cover the loss of the trailer.



## ATWOOD SEES ALL

**Bought: an exclusive read of the famous novelist's predictions**

BY REBECCA COOPER • How did Margaret Atwood know my clothes dryer wasn't working?

Atwood has been such a seer. In recent months, about Atwood's "prophetic vision" and her ability to be only "prescient" (that's her publisher's word) have been the subject of a book, *The Handmaid's Tale*, which was published just before the stock market free fall and mortgage meltdowns. (Before that was her timely theme of female oppression in *The Handmaid's Tale*, and *Oryx and Crake*, her dystopian novel that collided with the SARS outbreak.)

Either Atwood was born under cloudy skies or she really should be moonlighting from a shady moonlight with a sign that says "Palm Readings \$15."

All this explains why I was so intrigued in a recent fundraising event. For for science was a crystal decanter, which held five predictions for the future, written by none other than... Margaret Atwood. I immediately predicted I would be the highest bidder (by predicting I would not spend any money in the next three months). My prediction was right I walked away with the decanter.

"Do I have a crystal ball?" Atwood recently asked in a newspaper. Her answer was no, but I'm not sure. After "looking off" my high heels I had predicted that my list would be written by the end of the event. Right again. I walked into bed to read her predictions, my brain pounding as if I had just got back my L&R's. In my hands, after all, was something no one else had read.

Atwood's predictions were scribbled up in



orange tissue paper and tied neatly together with string inside the decanter. I carefully unfolded the five sheets of paper. "This is a prediction," read the first. "What I have found is five pages, typed single spaced. I received a note. The paper had the look of essay writer letters."

I read Atwood's predictions in their entirety, snoring every word. At first, I admit, I was a little disappointed. She started off by saying that for her "five areas of prediction" she would be sticking to themes relating to energy, luxury, clothing, communication and communication, and health and religion.

Truthfully, I had been hoping to read something along the lines of "You will travel to the moon," or "You will receive an unexpected paper," or, okay, okay, fortune-cookie kind of predictions. But that was Atwood. Not the delivery man from China House.

Still, Atwood did seem to be on to something. How was it possible, for instance, that she knew my dryer broke down three weeks ago and that, though all my clothes were still getting washed, they were all my own clothes hanging to dry on towel racks and marinate baskets?

Let me explain. In "The Lottery" series of predictions, Atwood, who is clearly my star-

read in energy consumption, writes about the nature of the drying rack and "the list of all sorts of 'I'll be there that's happening right now—at least at my house.' She also predicts a dismantled use of fabric will rise, which, I guess, without a working dryer makes fabric softer less of an issue anyway. Another of her predictions is the return of the clothespin (you know, you would fall over if you saw one in use of that)—for the reason of us who the think will soon be hanging our clothes out in our backyards.

Atwood is, admirably, clearly obsessed with conserving energy. She also calls about "solar fabrics." Atwood predicts industrial hang (not the drug... sigh) will be legal in the United States within 10 years. She predicts there will be clothing that heats the body, cools it, and recharges itself. She says to look out for sun hats with rechargeable batteries—the call them "solar caps"—that have small fans inside to keep you cool, and vests that, like in electric blankets, heat the body while you're wearing them. (Perhaps Atwood can lend all the "solar towels" needed.)

One last, and a rather, open-ended prediction was her "Health" predictions. She says to look for "Forest Balm," which is a Japanese term for "walking in the woods." We also learn about "Narcosis Deficit Disorder," which she predicts will become an "official" condition. If it does, I predict many mothers returning to doctors' offices demanding, "Does my child have NDD?" According to Atwood, if children are deprived of the experience of nature, they will suffer from developmental disorders. So get them away from their computers and make them go walk in the woods.

Walking, she says, will help depression. Atwood also foresees an increase in outdoor classrooms—already well established in Europe. Other predictions include remote star-gazing, miles with foot warmers, and tents or buildings that keep their lights on at night—and, increased attendance for the arts and opera.

Atwood threw in a last prediction: "I will be wrong about something, sometime. But what? And where?" The writer, in the meantime, gives Atwood's track record. "I'm a believer. Can anyone tell me where to find a 'dusky' again?" ■

**SWEDEN: LICENSE PLATE BRIEFLY OFFENSIVE**

After vehicle license plate authorities have refused to allow a driver to use "ASHD" on his personal identification plates (it might offend people with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder). Official say that have formally harmless advertisements take on new meanings. The decision has been widely mocked. Said one motorist: "Anyone attended by that wouldn't have the attention span to make a complaint anyway."



JILLIAN DICKSON  
PHOTOGRAPHS BY COLLEEN GARDNER

## THE BACK PAGES

help

Self-help junkies  
B-27

bazaar

Strategic over-the-top  
B-25

books

Power aging. Not!  
D-65

stage

John vs. David  
revisited  
D-65

books

Unlikely  
romances  
B-15

feschuk

When eight is  
not enough  
D-25

# Save me from Slumdog Millionaire

It's the sleeper hit of the year with a good chance of winning the Oscar for best picture. JAMIE J. WEINMAN is not one of its many fans.

film

Have you ever tried to make a list of the most overrated clichés in movie history? If you did, some of the following would probably be on that list: the two brothers follow opposite paths, one to business glory, the other to crime; a man discovers that his childhood sweetheart has become a prostitute; these characters try to jump onto a moving train to escape the bad guys, but only two of them make it. A love some ends with a freeze-frame kiss. You can find all these clichés and more, many more, in *Slumdog Millionaire*, the \$15 million Anglo-American Indian movie that became the official sleeper hit of the year, and has a good chance of winning the Academy Award for best picture (it's nominated for three and one other Oscars). Danny Boyle, the film's director, told Jamie Miller of the Philadelphia Film Society that the film is about "the human spirit, about how meaningless life is and how wonderful life is at the same time." But any time you see the words "human spirit" attached to a movie, run for the hills. You're about to see a manipulative film in which the scrappy and endearing underdog protagonist odds brotherhood, slow-burner version of *The Mighty Ducks*.

*Slumdog Millionaire* is the story of Jamal Malik (played as an adult by Dev Patel) and as a child by Ruoh Mahabhi Khedekar and Tanay Chikodi), who goes from being an orphan in the slums of Mumbai to unexpectedly winning big on the Indian version of the TV show *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* The plot is built around a series of absurd

coincidences: every question Jamal is asked on the game show has some connection to something he's gone through in his life, and triggers a memory that helps him answer the question correctly. The novel it's based on, Q&A by Vikas Swarup, used this as a linking device to flash back to key moments in the hero's life; the implausibility wasn't stopped because the book presented itself as a dark comedy. But in adapting it into a film, Boyle and screenwriter Simon Beaufoy felt that they needed a more earnest, straight-faced approach to the story. What's more, they decided that, as Beaufoy wrote the Gaillard script, "only love can over-whelm the seductive narrative of money that threatens to swamp the story," having Jamal win a lot of money wouldn't be enough of a fantasy. So he and Boyle created the character of Latika, Jamal's true love, and the story of how he keeps losing and finding her over and over again. (She progresses from an angelic little girl to a hooker with a heart of gold to a gangster's cynical mistress, an impressive number of clichés for one character to embody.) The movie they finally made was about how love can triumph over everything, even the poverty, violence and sectarian strife of India's Oliver Twist-style slums.

No wonder they might be on their way to an Oscar; *Slumdog* has the perfect formula for getting nominated for best picture: There's nothing the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences loves more than a new jinking, surprising story with a dose of social commentary—a Hollywood underdog movie with an artistic slant. Many Best Picture winners have been like that: there was *Kiss Kiss, Kiss Kiss*, in which hapless (poor) cook, and *Forrest Gump*, which inferred us that stupidity makes you more likely to have an impact on history. Not to mention two very different Oscar winners that are both a lot like *Slumdog*: *Schindler's List* and *Rocky*. Like *Schindler's List*, which gave the Holocaust a happy ending, *Slumdog* portrays the horrors of poverty as just another thing blocks on the hero's path to romance. And like *Rocky*, it's the story of a poor lower with a heart of gold who gets an unexpected chance in a nationally televised event. If these films were Best Picture, why shouldn't *Slumdog*, a blend of the Oscars' two favorite types of movies?

But *Slumdog* seems to go beyond the first good nature of previous Oscar contenders, it leads us away with every possible bit of old-fashioned optimism, from the spunky orphan boy on the roof of a train to the gangster dying in a bathtub full of money. Beaufoy has claimed that his inspiration for this movie was the city of Mumbai itself, where "the worst, muddy-mouthed English man and woman is being replaced by something that



UNLIKE THE NOVEL, it's based on *Slumdog* makes sure Jamal wouldn't actually come about anything as close as money

is bendering on melodrama." But a sweet old to credit the unique spirit of Mumbai for a collection of plot devices that have long been familiar from American and British movies. One classic moment comes when Jamal is asked a question about the one item lost of the three Marletts he has never been able to remember. This item goes as far back as *The Hangover*, in which a









THE MOVIE VERSION of *West Side Story* in 1961 (above) won 10 Oscars; in the new stage version characters act a bit more like real thugs

## Hola! 'West Side Story' gets a facelift.

The Jets still get most of the big numbers but at least the Sharks get to speak some Spanish

**BY JAMIE J. NEWMAN** • Why does a musical retitled like *West Side Story* get revived? Not because we're nostalgic to see it again, or because it's still relevant to our own era? Arthur Laurents, the 90-year-old Broadway legend who wrote the script of *West Side Story* and is directing a revival, thinks it's the latter. One can't be dumb, he can make it as beyond-expected as new. The revival, due to open on Broadway in March, retains the famous Leonard Bernstein music and the beautiful Juliet-in-a-plaid plot about rival street gangs. But new characters occasionally pop each other the finger, and the Puerto Rican romance speaks with a tongue in Spanish. According to an interview that the show's choreographer, Joey McKneely, gave to the *Washington Times*, it's part of an attempt to "revitalize the musical comedy aspect" and "give it a bit more edge." Or, again in another way, it's just an attempt to tell on that the expensive new production will give us something we couldn't get past by revising the movie.

That meant adding more violence and sexuality, and allowing the gang numbers to act more like real thugs than they could get away with in 1957. It meant giving far more authenticity by having the members of the Puerto Rican gang, the Sharks, communicate in their own language. In his memoir *Memories*, creator and star of the hit musical *The Wiz*, Rogers, was hired to translate some of Stephen Sondheim's lyrics into Spanish, and Spanish dialogue will be used in several scenes. Laurents has said that he felt the show had too much emphasis on the American gang, the Jets, and that by giving the Sharks their own language, there would be more of an equal balance between the two cultures. One of the actors in the show

Jason Sanchez, told *entertainment* online that he thanks the use of Spanish also helps clarify the main conflict of the story. "What it does is make that home of the Puerto Rican versus the Puerto Rican even wider."

*West Side Story* is hardly the first revival of a classic musical that tried to make its source material more relevant. The Broadway revival of *Boyz n the City* and *Hairspray*'s Jewish Pacific were both hyped for returning lines that were cut from the original script for being too frank about racism, and generally taking a more subtle approach than either the original production or the film. And while some of these retellings work, many others just are an awkward tension between the new, edgy elements and the songs and dances that the audience has actually come to see. *Boyz*, the 1949 musical comedy, has been revised with a new book that makes one of the supporting characters openly gay and even to add some darker, tougher material from the John O'Hara novel that the show is based on. The revival has been widely criticized for trying to graft these edgy elements onto a score and story that were never more than mildly edgy, the attempt to add sex and temporary "modern" touches to old musicals like *Boyz* is a case of a period piece, not less.

*West Side Story* may wind up having a similar problem. Does its Laurents seem to make

it relevant, everything else about it belongs to the world of 1957. So even with all the talk of a new, gritty approach, characters in the previous performances were regularly still using many of the '50s euphemisms from Laurents' original script and Sondheim's lyrics, like "jerk" and "bugger." And because of the way the show is staged, the American gang and gangsters of the boys and dance numbers, which obviously define Laurents' attempt to make the Sharks as important as the Jets. The only way to make the show totally unappealing would be to make it less beginning to end—but then a wouldn't be *West Side Story* anymore, and no one would care.

So even with the revision and updating as a selling point, the attraction of this revival will be the things that haven't been changed. McKneely has re-created Jerome Robbins' choreography from the original version, and the music will be the same. Original theater also told *A Time To Dance* that "some of our audience can't speak Spanish, so they get frustrated" if the language was done too really. So, as a result, it's the non-verbal musical that catches. Does Stephen Sondheim have friends so. A gathering in New York last week, Sondheim and he's believed that some of the theater lyrics will no longer be in English, and that "there are other songs I wish were in Spanish." It could be the best of both worlds: keep the dialogue in English, but make sure people who understand them. ■



### PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK ACTORS AND GUNS

At the climax of the *Lawrence Sanders* Theatre, director of John Sweeney, of *Boyz n the City*, 70-year-old actor-director Bill Bandy pointed a gun at fellow *Boyz* Philip D'Amico, 31, and pulled the trigger. "We're running late," says Bandy, "and without thinking I didn't check the gun." Instead of using a prop gun, he was using a real one, loaded. The bullet ricocheted off D'Amico's skull and took off a piece of his ear. He survived.

A SCENE from the play *Fräulein Smiley* (above), based on the novel by Charlotte Roche and performed in Germany last year

## Probably not for Oprah's book club

A bestseller denounced as a 'masturbation pamphlet' is about to be published in Canada

**BY ANNE KINGSTON** • "Provocative" was one of those publishing buzzwords reflexively used to stir up interest in the most banal of books. Next month, however, a work of fiction leads in Canada for which the overseas desert prize is ripe. The book is *Fräulein Smiley*, a translation of *Fräulein Smiley*, written by 30-year-old German TV personality Charlotte Roche. The novel, which has sold some 1.5 million copies in Germany and became the first German work of fiction to top Amazon.com's global chart, has caused a major Twitter conversation since its publication last February, in much to the chagrin of its publisher. It was necessary to Roche's public readings due to people's disbelief. Just what's most shocking about the novel is up for debate. Is it the distance from the novel to what is available 18-year-old homeless. Helen Mirren, who's recovering in hospital from surgery to remove an infected breast lump, boldly shares her body's success and sexuality? ("I see my image the way others see the real deal of perfume," she claims.) Or is it that the novel's utterly nihilistic, occasionally sexualized, charming language was written by a woman who resembles a young Audrey Hepburn?

The novel, by Roche, speaking as the telephone from Cologne, says her sexuality rose for the first time early, and she decided on the subject. "These are my topics," she says. "Enjoy talking about them, even when I'm embarrassed. I cut myself shaving, I've shown everybody, even if I think it's ugly." She'll be reading with what to expect about after signing a book contract and spending the advance. "For seven years I had a bad conscience," she says. "The plan started with writing about the secret embarrassing things I do on the toilet and even the things I hide

from my husband—just getting the secrets inside out." She and her protagonist share some biographical details: both are children of divorce, Roche too was a wild child who dropped out of school to Gusto. It, formed a fringe gangster rock band, can be said to have with blood, experienced with drugs and shaved her head before getting a job as a video jockey on Viva, the German MTV. The author is amazed by the extent to which the media have identified her with her character. "They're always asking around me, so see if I'm dirty like Helen," she says.

The Germans don't know what to make of Roche's novel. It has been denounced as a "masturbation pamphlet" and staged these really. Roche says the response to a book she and her publisher see as being in a "special category" has amazed her. "The people who come to the readings, mostly young women, are very positive," she says. "Thus has been written that it's something, it's language; but women in the readings aren't shocked at all." She says, referring to those who don't like it: "And there are lots of women who don't, I need to feel so embarrassed about certain things involving my body but since I read the book I don't feel embarrassed any more." "That's the best thing that can happen," Roche says she'd like to see an end to the abuse of female masturbation. "But women

lack the language to discuss it," she says.

While the "verbal subject matter" was seized upon by publisher HarperCollins Canada in its marketing, advance reading copies were wrapped in a plain black cover bound with a combination lock to shut prurient interest. Publisher and editor in chief Les Topham says she's never published anything like it. "Sometimes it's funny, sometimes it's interesting, sometimes it's gross," she says. "Sometimes you think, 'I'm never going to recover from this.'" She surfaced from the novel's sexuality to appreciate its unique perspective. "It's a look permit of women and women's sexuality and comfort with their own bodies, which is such a departure from what we see all around us—this hyper-sexualized, phallic, phallic, and otherwise 'desired-as' version of women." With a first print run of 20,000, they're heading on a bestseller.

When *Fräulein Smiley* is published on March 7, there'll likely be a reprint of the "it's a form as erotic literary class" or "fantasy" marketed pornography" debate that in Germany, a discussion that immediately presumes any explicit, sexualized book about female sexuality must be one or the other. Roche has learned to discuss her career with champagne cool. "There were some times I wrote to make people laugh," she admits. "That when people ask me whether a pornography, I always say, 'It depends who's asking.' It's a man, I say, 'It's pornography.' ■"



### THE NIGHTMARE OF THE NIGHTMARE

**BASHE ORR** The comedian, who claims to be 22, is in the disphouse with her older boyfriend, *Philly* Tamm's veteran John C. After she reached Class 10, following his play and a difficult birth, she spent most of her life in cosmetic surgery on his body. "That's all I get—they're normally happy down there—he really has a nice package." Cline says he'll never turn Orr again. If it wasn't another reason not to, one reviewer claims she's actually 46, not 22.

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ROGERS

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Bunch?  
Eight is  
Enough?  
Quitters!SCOTT  
FESCHUK

Newspapers report that  
Nadya Soliman, the single  
mother of octuplets who  
already had six children  
before giving birth, was  
unemployed and financially  
strapped even before she  
decided to seek fertility treat-

ment. She has expressed interest in a career  
as a television child care expert.  
Whoa! Kiki Korman—real world advice  
on raising children. I'm Nadya Soliman.  
Did you tune in to The Brady Bunch and  
think to yourself—this show would be as  
much better if they just added eight infants  
and the looming threat of bankruptcy, fore-  
closure and malnutrition? Did you watch  
Eight is Enough and think to yourself, "Says  
who? Dick Van Dyke is not the best of my  
world?" Did you see the movie Clueless by  
the Disney and think of the parents in ques-

tion? Well, then you just might have having  
children almost as much as I do!  
Let's go right to the phones.  
Hi Nadya, thanks for taking my call. I'm  
having trouble with my four-year-old son. No  
matter what I say, or how I say it, he just won't  
listen to me. It's frustrating!

You know what I find weird in sitcoms like  
this? That the kids with 15 siblings. It gives the  
kind of emotional support and understanding  
of what dysfunction it is as you just can't get from a family that's incapable  
of holding its own seven kids.  
Hello Nadya, I don't know how you do it!  
I've only got one nephew, and I'm com-  
pletely exhausted.  
Believe me, it gets easier! Once your child  
reaches seven or eight weeks, she'll pretty  
much take care of herself. From that point  
on, you're mostly there to give your baby an  
occasional nudge and maybe a gentle prod  
along the way. [Pause] Or is this a favor?

How do I help my older kids adapt to the  
new baby I've just had?

can try at home, give your five oldest kids  
down on their hands and knees. Then get  
your six-year-olds to climb up, forming  
a human pyramid. Then place the baby  
up on top. This makes them feel like they  
for the entire afternoon so Mickey can tell her  
look right and go on Oprah.  
My five-year-old son—and we don't even  
have any kids yet? How do I know when I'm  
really ready to bring a baby into the world?

I think most women go through the same

Pregnant!  
Nadya, I've gone through a real hard case  
of postpartum depression and I—  
PREGNANT!  
Okay, that was fun. Let's take a moment  
now for a word from one of our sponsors.  
Viewers, getting the kids off to school can  
be a real hassle in the morning, especially  
when it's 7:45 and you're still got a couple  
hundred Eggo waffles to toast. That's why  
I swear by Chrysler's new minivan—the

It's that age-old female urge to be implanted  
with an absurd number of embryos

experience. You find yourself feeling that  
age-old urge to be implanted with an absurd  
number of embryos. You can't stop think-  
ing about one day being in the hospital and  
counting those 30 little fingers and 30 little  
toes, then taking a nap, then undergoing and  
counting the remaining 30 fingers and toes.  
You dream of that special moment in the  
delivery room when you look up into the  
faces of your 40-member team of medical  
professionals and say, "How they all out you,  
or what?" (It's a woman's way of saying you're  
ready. And if at the end of the day you're  
still not sure, then just take a slow. Start  
with quadruplets.)

Now it's time for the Kid Reverser speed  
round where I answer a series of parenting  
questions in no time flat. Just say and trump  
me! Ready? Let's go.  
Nadya, my five-year-old won't sleep through  
the night. What should I do?  
Get pregnant again.  
My five-year-old won't sleep through the  
night. What should I do?  
Get pregnant again.  
I've got a newborn that just won't change in  
the shade and—

Quadruplets & Coterie. Designed for the  
mom who has children as a proxy for nine-  
month fulfillment, it comes standard with six  
passenger seats, 100 cup holders and a psych  
screen. Can't afford the tractor price? No  
problem! Just do what I did—overexposed  
yourself to a trip to the dentist and a birth  
control society to take on the burden.

Okay, we've got time for one last call.  
No, I have a question. When you were seven  
played with six young kids, why did you ac-  
cidentally eat a fry? (You'll still want to be  
in many better to see despite not having the  
resources to support them.)  
Viewers, this is exactly the kind of ignorance  
I'd expect from someone who has no  
idea how I live on—  
Mama, that's funny.  
Sorry?  
You're six.  
[Pause]  
Sorry, I'm going to need a little more  
detail. N

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## JAMES 'JIM' ROLAND GALLINGER

1950-2009

## A snowplow driver, he was one of the 'old guys on the road' who learned to be cautious of semis

James "Jim" Roland Gallinger was born in Rogers on Nov. 16, 1950, the third of four children to Joseph Gallinger and his wife, Leona. The couple owned a shoe repair business until Joseph got a job in an RCMP saddle shop. A "shabby little toddler," Jim grew into a "good natured," big kid, says elder sister Debbie. With younger brother Michael or "Mike," he rode bikes, and in the summer, basked by the hot by the window (Don't they blend the best.) Jim was a modest boy who shied away from attention, but was popular among the neighborhood kids. During stormy, he was always in it.

Perhaps sensing he would mature into an even bigger man, Jim decided that he should be called "Big Bear," a nickname that stuck. After a few years of high school, Jim dropped out to drive a truck for the United Green Growers Ltd. He was still a teenager when he met Sharon. She was a party thrower, says Jim, and she was her size (at 17 she was barely five feet) that prompted Jim, now on foot once, to pick her up and carry her around. "He put me in his pocket," says Sharon, who was drawn to the "big, cuddly bear" with a "bear hug." She got pregnant with Tom Trevor at 17, but says it didn't take long for Jim, who was 20, to get over his initial panic. "He said, 'We'll work through this.'" When Trevor was born, Jim burst from the delivery room and shouted, "It's a bear cub!"

Though they held off on marriage, Sharon says the "never-worried" about Jim's commitment. When Trevor was still a baby, they rented a house of their own. By then, Jim was working for the provincial highways department, installing guard rails and repairing roads. Co-worker Ray Robinson says Jim shrugged off the perils of working "right beside traffic that's passing you by," but learned to be particularly cautious of semis, which occasionally came barreling through construction areas. He began his career as a snowplow driver in 1984, on the same day daughter Crystal was born. Part of a crew that would become "the old guys on the road," says Ray, Jim was meticulous about clearing snow from highway shoulders.

In the summer, Jim snowed down along the highways. Sharon, who was working maintenance at night, would often pick up lunch and take the kids for "a picnic" with him, she says. In the late '80s, they bought their first house. Jim taught Trevor to play hockey and football. While shopping, he always held Crystal's hand, which she

says "would not disappear" in his. Though he rarely cooked, Jim loved to eat. "Everything was his favorite," says Sharon. The joke about napping in "intersections" is stopping her children sleep. In March 1994, they put the kids in the car under the guise of going out for a dinner dinner. Instead, they drove to a nearby hotel and breakfast and got married.

Like his parents, Jim was good with his hands. A "jack-of-all trades," says Sharon, he would help friends with repairs, and construct construction projects he saw on TV, building a coffee table, columns, and a shed. With guns and wrenches, he transformed old football helmets into CFL replicas, which lined the mantle. "He had every team," says Trevor, but the Rough Riders were his favorite.

Though Jim enjoyed working outdoors, the accidents he witnessed made him wary, and he wanted his family to "watch out for the other guy," says Crystal. As a transport derrick from refineries, the highways got busy. Accident-prone, he says, whenever Jim had done cold, it was "whenever always [with] a semi." He particularly loathed snow-winter days, when "the frost comes up from the pavement and the snow blows," says Darlene. Cars often wound up in the ditch, which Jim referred to as "the shu-bert." Before collisions, Ray says they often pulled over to help, but in recent years, after making sure everyone was okay, they usually kept plowing.

After Leona died in 1995, Jim's dad stayed in their home. It had a big driveway and he was meticulous about cleaning it properly. So as Joseph got older, Jim made sure he best him to it. Never out for prize, when the job was finished he departed, without as much as a look on the door. Likewise, his sister Darlene and her husband sometimes woke up to find two Tim Hortons coffees on the doorstep. "Jim would never say an 'uh-oh,'" she says.

On Jan. 12, 2009, Jim considered calling in sick. He was awaiting surgery for a torn rotator cuff, and his shoulder was bothering him. But he worked through pain, says Sharon. That day, a warm spell had made the roads slippery and the snow blow. Just outside of Bulls Plains, Jim's glow broke down. While he was waiting for insurance, a car slid into the ditch, and he went over to help the driver just after 4 p.m., a semi lost control and slid into the man, killing them both. Jim Gallinger was 49.

BY RACHEL HENDERSON



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